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THÈSES CANADIENNES SUR MICROFICHE

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TITLE OF THESIS/*TITRE DE LA THÈSE* ADJUSTMENT TO ANOMIE: A STUDY OF YOUNG MALES IN RED DEER

UNIVERSITY/*UNIVERSITÉ* UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED/*GRADE POUR LEQUEL CETTE THÈSE FUT PRÉSENTÉE* DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

YEAR THIS DEGREE CONFERRED/*ANNÉE D'OBTENTION DE CE GRADE* 1977

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ADJUSTMENT TO ANOMIE:
A STUDY OF YOUNG MALES IN RED DEER

by

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A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
SPRING, 1977

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Adjustment to Anomie: A Study of Young Males in Red Deer," submitted by William Kenneth Stuebing in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology.

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December 3, 1976.

DEDICATION

To the ladies I love,

Linda, Emmy, Marie, and Bonnie.

ABSTRACT

The thesis presents a reformulation of anomie theory based on the understanding that anomie is to be found in value conflicts that weaken the plausibility structures which support and legitimate social reality. Within a complex society, anomie is further understood to be a variable which can be variously experienced in different individual social situations. Operationally, the experience of socio-cultural conditions is defined as ranging from the experience of little or no value conflict (cultural unity) through the experience of nondisruptive conflicts (pluralistic value disagreement) to value conflicts which impede interaction between groups (subcultural anomie) and finally, conflicts of a character sufficient to render most or all social interaction problematic (full anomie).

The research is an investigation of the utility of the theory as an inclusive explanation of the many diverse aspects of youth behavior. Of principal concern were the ways in which young people apprehend and define socio-cultural conditions and the ways in which different understandings are related to indicators of individual social situations, characteristic differences in instrumental, expressive and delinquent behavior, and to reported differences in subjective meaningfulness.

A sample of eighty males between the ages of 16 and 19 were interviewed in Red Deer. The interviews incorporated a variety of measures and techniques with provision for the collection and analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data.

The principle findings show the experience of anomic social and cultural conditions to be mostly related to instrumental activity. Young people with less rewarding or successful educational experiences

are more likely to report subjective definitions of subcultural or full anomie. Once socio-cultural conditions have been apprehended, however, respondents who report more supportive primary relations --family and peers-- and also indicate lower parental socio-economic status are more likely to define such conditions in the theoretically extreme categories of cultural unity or full anomie. On the indicators of subjective meaningfulness, respondents who do not apprehend anomic conditions report greater subjective discipline. No substantial differences were observed for reports of expressive or delinquent behavior, or for the meaningfulness dimension of subjective hope.

In sum, the theory is represented as a promising approach to the study of youth. However, some problems in the present study, particularly the operationalization of subjective definitions of social and cultural conditions and the frequent lack of statistical significance in the observed relationships, require consideration prior to subsequent research.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The time spent in the preparation of this thesis has been an emotional as well as an intellectual one. Many friends have shared both my life and my work. I therefore now welcome this opportunity to acknowledge their contributions and to express my sincere gratitude.

Among those to whom I am most indebted is the chairman of my thesis committee, Professor Baha R. Abu-laban, my teacher, counselor, and friend whose persistence more than anything else has seen this work to completion. I can never adequately thank him.

The other members of my committee, Dr. Charles W. Hobart, Dr. George Kupfer, Dr. Wayne W. McVey, Jr., and Dr. Ann-Marie Decore, have provided invaluable assistance first in keeping me from riding off in too many directions at once then in carefully considering the manuscript and providing valuable insights. In this regard, I would particularly note the contribution of Dr. Hobart, who, as usual, has participated more extensively and meaningfully than the simple demands of duty dictate. Finally, I wish to thank my external examiner, Professor Raymond Breton whose wisdom and judgment have strengthened this thesis and provided me with several additional challenges for further study.

Many people participated directly in the research and my appreciation for their efforts is real. Mrs. Wendy Gross located the members of the sample. Considerable assistance in data collection was provided by some very capable interviewers, Doug Beveridge, Val Boehme, Bob Forsyth, Bill Gaudette, Al Isbister, and Roger Walker. Mr. Bob Allen has cheerfully handled and arranged the necessary reproduction. Mrs. Sandy Cutlan capably handled the key punching while Mrs. Faye MacDonald and Mr. Brad Whitehead provided considerable assistance with the data processing. Finally, I have special gratitude for Mrs. Shirley Walls who has done all of the typing for the research and the thesis and retained her good humor in spite of my efforts.

I wish to thank my students and colleagues at Red Deer College for their understanding, encouragement and support. I am particularly indebted to Mr. Roy North and Dr. Al Burden who often supplied my missing motivation.

For my family, who have kept faith in me throughout, "thank-you" is an inadequate word. My parents, Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth A. Stuebing, have given me so much in so many ways; I could never repay them but I will never forget. My parents-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. C. Ralph Loder, have welcomed me into their family and made my problems theirs; their support and real help are beyond value.

Last, but most certainly not least, one person has had to endure more than any other yet her continuing love and friendship keep me going and are a dependable presence to lean on. My wife Linda has shared all of my work, we will share more now.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Canada, it is frequently noted, is a complex, pluralistic society which, within its borders, emcompasses many diverse and heterogeneous cultural and organizational patterns. As interpreted by A. K. Davis, the significant feature which defines Canadian society is the continuation of basic and pervasive social conflict.[1] Harry H. Hiller suggests that the ultimate delineation of "Canadian society" is dependent on geographic and political referents.[2] The principal notion underlying this study is that such conflicts and cleavages, both traditional and more contemporary, differently impinge on the social realities of individual experience. It follows that value conflicts may be virtually non-existant in the experiences of some persons while for others they may be both particularly intense and disruptive to interaction.

Social and cultural conditions which embody value conflicts and disagreements have been understood by reference to the concept of anomie.[3] A reformulated theory of anomie was developed to recognize the extent to which these conditions are objectively available in individual social situations as well as the extent to which interaction between individuals and groups is actually disrupted.

Anomie, as it is here understood, is expected to be widely experienced throughout Canadian society. The more limited concerns of this study are with the experiences of young people. The selection of youth and youth behavior as the focus for this research is predicated upon two considerations. First, the current sociological interest in youth phenomena is shared by the writer, and second, the particular social status of young people may be understood to exacerbate anomic conditions.

This study has thus been conceived as a preliminary assessment of a reformulated theory of anomie through an analysis of certain young people.

The research was conducted in the city of Red Deer, Alberta, a community of approximately 32,000 persons located midway between Edmonton and Calgary. The sample was drawn from a population of male high school students. The data were collected by interviews carried on through the Spring of 1976.

Research Objectives

The principal problem to which this research is addressed is an investigation of the utility of one formulation of anomie theory as a mode of explanation for youth behavior. As such, the study intends the investigation of major aspects of the theory.

Generally following the hypothetico-deductive method, insights were sought to the following questions.[4]

1. How do young people apprehend and define objective social and cultural conditions?

2. In what ways are different understandings of social and cultural conditions related to variation in individual social situations?

3. How are understandings of social and cultural conditions related to existing measures of the presumed psychological concomitants to anomie?

4. To what extent are characteristic patterns of instrumental, expressive and delinquent behavior associated with different understandings of social and cultural conditions?

5. How are understandings of social and cultural conditions related to subjective meaningfulness?

6. How are differences in behavior related to subjective meaningfulness?

One final objective synthesizes the preceeding questions and relates them to the body of existing literature: To what extent does this approach hold promise for the elaboration of a general explanatory schema for youth behavior and what are the implications for the existing literature?

The significance of the study has three aspects. First, the study has implications for the theory of anomie. To the extent that the feasibility of the approach is upheld, the conceptualization locates the concept of anomie in an inclusive context and provides for appropriate operationalization. Second, the approach may be shown to hold promise for a comprehensive analysis of youth behavior. More immediately, this research will provide an analysis of young males and their behavior in Red Deer where few such insights currently exist. Finally, and perhaps most significantly, this study will constitute the groundwork for a more formal test of the theory and a more encompassing examination of youth behavior through the insights which will guide subsequent research.

Outline of the Thesis

The organization of the thesis follows the development and execution of the research. Chapter II provides a review of the relevant literature tracing the development of anomie theory and research and an overview of some of the contemporary approaches in the sociological study of youth.

The theoretical framework is presented in chapter III with a detailed discussion of the reformulation of the theory of anomie and a consideration of the connection between the apprehension of anomic conditions and the characteristic status of youth within Canadian society as suggested by the literature. The chapter concludes with the presentation of both general and substantive hypotheses.

Chapter IV relates the methodology of the study and its development. In turn are discussed the development of the general methodological approach, the sampling methods, the treatment of the data and the procedures employed in the analysis, and the operationalization of major concepts and discussion of the instruments employed in the study. The chapter concludes with the consideration of characteristics of the sample.

The fifth and sixth chapters are devoted to the analysis of the data and the presentation of the findings. Chapter V begins by considering the measurement of different understandings of social and cultural conditions and the subjective interpretations of the young people in the sample. The balance of the chapter examines the relationship between these understandings and various indicators of individual social situations. Chapter VI considers in turn the association between the understandings of social and cultural conditions and the measures of behavior and indicators of subjective meaningfulness. This chapter concludes with a brief analysis of the relationship between subjective meaningfulness and objective behavior.

The conclusions are discussed in chapter VII. The findings are reviewed and discussed in detail and the salient conclusions summarized. Finally, the implications of this study are considered for the theory of anomie, for the study of youth, and for further research.

FOOTNOTES

1. Arthur K. Davis, "Canadian Society and History as Hinterlands Versus Metropolis," in Richard J. Ossenberg, Canadian Society: Pluralism, Change and Conflict, Scarborough, Ont.: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1971. pp.6-32.

2. Harry H. Hiller, Canadian Society: A Sociological Analysis, Scarborough, Ont.: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1976. p.xiii.

3. A review of the history of this concept is contained in Chapter II.

4. *Cf*. Abraham Kaplan, The Conduct of Inquiry: Methodology for Behavioral Science, San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1964.

Chapter II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

THE CONCEPT OF ANOMIE

Introduction

Derived from the Greek root meaning approximately "broken limits," the concept of anomie directs attention to culture and social organization. Apart from any particular theoretical context, anomie generally refers to problems of social control in society.

Thus, in Horton's broad perspective: "Cultural constraints are ineffective, values are conlficting or absent, goals are not adjusted to opportunity structures or vice versa, or individuals are not adequately socialized to cultural directives."[1] Or as another writer succinctly states: "Anomie is the discord in the rhythm of social life."[2]

Much of the literature, beginning with Durkheim, deals with anomie and its relation to various social problems. In this regard, the concept is sometimes linked to a social ideology of conservatism when aspects of social change are posited as causes of anti-social behavior. Yet it may be argued that sociology itself was born of anomie.[3] In the positive philosophy of August Comte there is a systematic attempt to apprehend new social institutions which would replace those which finally foundered in the French Revolution.

Durkheim and Anomie

Emile Durkheim is responsible for reviving the concept of anomie to describe a condition which he viewed as endemic to the economic institutions of industrial society. He postulated that the economy which was traditionally restrained by the moral codes of the church, the state, or the guild, now exists as a realm of unrestrained self-interest. While formerly a means to other ends (and limited by those ends), economic activity becomes an end in itself. Anomie or "normlessness" is institutionalized through the absence of sufficient normative regulation to behavior.

In Suicide, Durkheim writes:

> These dispositions [self-interested striving toward indefinite goals] are so inbred that society has grown to accept them and is accustomed to think them normal. It is everlastingly repeated that it is man's nature to be eternally dissatisfied, constantly to advance, without relief or rest, toward an indefinite goal. The longing for infinity is daily represented as a mark of moral distinction, whereas it can only appear within unregulated consciences which elevate to a rule the lack of rule from which they suffer.[4]

In The Division of Labor in Society, he makes the point early.

> We repeatedly insist in the course of this book upon the state of juridical and moral anomy [sic] in which economic life is actually found.[5]

In his focusing of the concept on the normative structure, Durkheim uses rates of deviation and the state of law and punishment as behavioral indicators of anomie. In this way he avoids psychological definitions of the concept; however, he does suggest that egotism, insatiable striving meaninglessness and aimlessness would be some of the probable reactions of individuals to living in an anomic society. Nevertheless, for Durkheim: "Anomy [sic] is evil not so much because the individual may suffer, but because this state impairs the proper functioning of society, which cannot exist without cohesiveness and orderliness."[6]

The Influence of Robert Merton

Anomie as a concept in contemporary sociology perhaps owes most to Merton's famous essay, "Social Structure and Anomie."[7] Following on Durkheim, Merton conceptualizes anomie as a condition of social organization where there is a discrepancy between universally prescribed culture goals and differential access to institutionalized means of attaining them. As for Durkheim, such a condition of social norms and values may fail to adequately regulate individual behavior and Merton considers at some length the possible modes of adaptation which the individual may select.

The endemic character of such normative disjunction Merton speaks of as a "strain towards anomie" which he feels is characteristic of industrial society.

> The culture may be such as to lead individuals to center their emotional convictions upon the complex of culturally acclaimed ends, with far less emotional support for prescribed methods of reaching out for these ends. With such differential emphases upon goals and institutional procedures, the latter may be so vitiated by the stress on goals as to have the behavior of many individuals limited only by considerations of technical expediency....The technically most effective procedure, whether culturally legitimate or not, becomes typically preferred to institutionally prescribed conduct. As this process of attenuation continues, the society becomes unstable and there develops what Durkheim called "anomie" (or normlessness).[8]

While it remained essentially Merton's formulation, the theory of anomie was soon extended or restated by other writers including Talcott Parsons, Robert Dubin, Richard Cloward and Albert K. Cohen. In most cases the focus continued to be on the relation between social and cultural anomie and deviant behavior.

In The Social System, Parsons locates the concept within his larger theory of social action and considers the relation between conformative and alienative or deviant modes of adaptation and active or passive subjective orientations.[9] He develops eight types of deviant behavioral responses to anomie ranging from compulsive active dominance of ambiguous social situations to passive evasion. Recognizing the innovative quality of deviance, Parsons treats anomie and nonconformist responses in a way more neutral than does Merton.[10]

In his reformulation of Merton's deviant modes of adaptation, Dubin's principal contribution is to emphasize that individual behavioral adjustment to anomic conditions need not be necessarily dysfunctional.[11] Innovation is considered as part of normal social change which may contribute constructively to a society, particularly when success or approval follow.

Richard Cloward provides a substantive addition to Merton with the notation that in addition to unequal access to legitimate institutional means, there are also differentials in access to illegitimate means with real implications for the epidemiology of deviance.[12] Cloward is thus able to clarify two of Merton's modes of adjustment, innovation and retreatism. Innovative behaviors such as crime and delinquency are to be understood as access to illegitimate means through participation in delinquent subcultures. Unlike Merton who saw retreatism as a function of learned constraints in the use of illegitimate means, Cloward sees this adaptation as a product of double failure in both legitimate and illegitimate means. Retreatist behavior such as drug addiction, alcoholism and mental illness are thus understood.

> If illegitimate means are unavailable, if efforts at innovation fail, then retreatist adaptations may still be the consequence, and the 'escape' mechanisms chosen by the defeated individual may perhaps be all the more deviant because of his 'double failure.'[13]

Later writing with Lloyd Ohlin, Cloward extends his understanding to a more complete theory of delinquent subcultures.[14] In their view, delinquent subcultures are a response to anomie and blocked access to legitimate means of attaining success goals. This latter writing has, however, been extensively criticized for failing to account adequately or accurately for lower class success goals and for failing to recognize the pervasive character of normative deviation through all social classes.

Cohen's major work, Delinquent Boys, which links features of lower class social structure with the emergence of gang delinquency, suggests an approach essentially similar to the anomie theory of Merton.[15] However, Cohen disputes this assessment and indicates that much of gang delinquency, principally the "destructiveness, the versatility, the zest and the wholesale negativism which characterizes this delinquent subculture are beyond the purview of [the theory of anomie]".[16] In this there is an important caution for those who would see anomie as a general explanation for deviance.

Empirical Studies

Anomie is a concept which is difficult to define and even more difficult to measure. In his own work Durkheim failed to define anomie or to develop an explicit theory.[17] Further recognizing that direct measurement of objective social conditions was not available, Durkheim undertook the first of what Merton labelled "symptomatic" studies of anomie.[18] It is Durkheim's classic, Suicide, which initiates the research strategy of considering anomic social conditions as reflected in subjective behavior.[19] However, Merton's formulation and its variations are principally responsible for directing the empirical studies of contemporary sociologists.

Faced with the same limitations which confronted Durkheim, the unavailability of social structure to direct measurement, researchers have proceeded with two alternative strategies for the symptomatic study of anomie. One approach indirectly measures anomie by analysis of certain objective conditions such as crime and suicide rates or data on mental illness which are considered to be indicators of anomic structural conditions. The second approach is the consideration of specified subjective conditions of the individual which are understood to reflect objective conditions of anomie as perceived or experienced.

One frequently cited example of the former approach is Lander's analysis of delinquency in Baltimore for the years 1939 to 1942.[20] Through factor analysis of census tract data, he identifies two clusters of variables, one of which he labels the anomic factor "characterized by 'normlessness,' the breakdown of weakening of the regulatory structures of society."[21] His indicators of anomie were the presence of delinquency, evidence of an area in transition and unstable as reflected in the proportion of non-whites in a previously white area, and a measure of family instability in the comparative lack of home ownership. Three similar and more recent studies are contained in Elwin Powell's The Design of Discord in which the author examines manifestations of anomie through the analyses of suicide in Tulsa between 1937-56, crime rates and urbanization in Buffalo between 1850 and 1964, and social cohesion and anomie in Germany during the two World Wars.[22]

Largely for reasons of methodological ease, much of the empirical study has focused on anomie as a quality of the individual. Since the concept as developed by Durkheim and Merton directed attention to conditions of social organization and culture, alternative spellings (anomy, anomia) have been developed to maintain the distinction between individual and societal attributes. One of the first to make this transformation was Robert MacIver who discussed "anomy" as "a state of mind in which the individual's sense of social cohesion --the mainspring of his morale-- is broken or fatally weakened."[23] In The Lonely Crowd, David Riesman discusses an "anomic" type of person as being "maladjusted."[24]

Perhaps the most frequently used measure of the social psychological concomitant is Leo Srole's scale for the measurement of "anomia" first published in 1956.[25] Five items appear in Srole's scale.

(1) There's little use in writing to public officials because they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man.
(2) Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.
(3) In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better.
(4) It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.
(5) These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on.[26]

Agreement with these items identify the anomic person along a theoretical continuum moving from a generalized, pervasive sense of "self-to-others belongingness" to the extreme of "self-to-others distance" and "self-to-others alienation" or anomia.[27]

Two decades of research using the Srole scale tend to confirm Merton's contention that anomie most acutely affects those with least opportunity to achieve generally uniform cultural success goals. Representative findings include Meier and Bell's conclusion that anomia scores are greater for those with less accessibility to the means of achieving such goals.[28] Among their measures of accessibility were socio-economic status, class identification, age, social isolation, occupational mobility, and religious preference. They conclude "that anomia results when an individual is prevented from achieving his life goals, and that the character of the goals and the obstacles to their achievement are rooted in social and cultural conditions."[29]

Mizruchi's study of a small city in upstate New York found a signficant association of class identification and social participation with anomia and assumed that lower classes have a greater tendency towards anomia as a result of differential access to supportive subsystems as well as inaccessibility of means to achieve certain ends.[30] In an expanded version of his report he further notes that among the middle classes anomia is determined by the discrepancy between aspiration and achievement while among the lower classes anomia is determined by limits on occupational attainment and opportunities for integration into the community.[31] The inverse correlation between anomia and socio-economic status is further confirmed by Tumin and Collins, Killian and Grigg, Simpson and Miller, and Rhodes.[32] In a direct testing of Merton's hypothesis, Rhodes studies the relation between social class and anomia while controlling occupational aspiration. In what is considered support for Merton, the correlation between class and anomia disappears when aspirations are controlled while the relation between aspiration and anomia remains when socioeconomic status is controlled.[33]

A different approach to examination of "anomy" as a social psychological condition was taken by Herbert McClosky and John Schaar.[34] In a flight of literary allusion, they conceptualize anomy as a cluster of attitudes, beliefs and feelings, a state of mind in the individual.

> Specifically, it is the feeling that the world and oneself are adrift, wandering, lacking in clear rules and stable moorings. The anomic feels literally demoralized; for him, the norms governing behavior are weak, ambiguous and remote. He lives in a normative "low pressure" area, a turbulent region of weak and fitful currents of moral meaning.[35]

Their principal hypothesis is that as the norms of a society are learned, so too are the anomic feelings that there are no norms. To this end they examine cognitive factors, emotional factors, and substantive beliefs and attitudes which are understood to impair learning and socialization. Considering a range of social and psychological data including their own nine-item scale of "anomy," they conclude that anomic feelings are a function not only of objective social conditions and variables but also are governed by individual intellectual and personality characteristics. Anomy results when socialization and the learning of norms are impeded, independent of such sociological variables as socioeconomic status. Thus they move away from Merton's structural thesis.

> We [suggest] that an alternative and more useful approach might be to regard anomy as a by-product of the socialization process --as a sign of the failure of socialization and the means by which socialization is achieved, namely, communication, interaction and learning.[36]

Limitations of Empirical Studies

As Merton has observed, there exists a considerable gulf between anomie theory and research.[37] Whether this is due, as Merton states, to the fact that "sociological theory tends to outrun the inevitably slower pace of systematic empirical research," or reflects a fundamental problem with anomie theory is another question.[38]

Beginning with Durkheim and Merton, theorists have regarded anomie as a condition of culture and social structure. Were these conditions available to direct observation, great practical difficulties would still bar the movement from theory to systematic research. Currently it remains for present sociologists, as it was for Durkheim, a prohibitively expensive, time consuming, arduous task to even begin to assemble the kinds of data called for by the theory. In consequence idiosyncratic to the social sciences, and understandably so, rough empirical approximations to the requirements of the theory are utilized. The results, as so frequently the case, prove indecisive. Merton laments:

> There is not a single investigation of anomie ... that has succeeded in mounting a research design that systematically, rather than impressionistically and qualitatively, includes simultaneous analysis of collectivity, subgroup and individual attributes.[39]

In sum, anomie studies collectively are controlled by the great unwritten rule of sociological inquiry: When measuring, one measures what one can.

In the first instance discussed above, measuring what one can has produced analysis of behavioral indicators of anomie such as crime or suicide. The limitations here are twofold, first, the indicators remain only indirect evidence and the linkages to anomic structures remain in the realm of abstract theory, and second, possible intervening or confounding variables --if identified-- are at best subject only to rudimentary and approximate control. Not surprisingly, comparatively few studies since Durkheim have taken this approach.

In the second instance, the psychologizing of the concept to "anomia" resolves the dilemma of what to measure in typical survey research fashion. Individuals are more readily available for measurement than are cultures or social structures (and more easily persuaded to complete questionnaires). Whatever the strengths of such a research style --and these are not presently in question-- one must naturally be concerned with what is really being measured. All would agree that it is not anomie as conceptualized by Durkheim or Merton.

Proponents of such measures as the Srole or McClosky and Schaar scales contend that these instruments reflect anomie as subjectively experienced.[40] Critics respond differently. Hans Peter Deitzel suggests that Srole's scale merely represents an instrument for the measurement of "psychic conditions of general dissatisfaction which can stem from the most varied sources and frustrations."[41] Nettler contends that such measures indicate not anomie but simply despair.

> I should like to propose an alternative view of the interesting reports by McClosky and Shaar, Srole, and others who have written about "anomic" persons. These people are simply down-and-out, run over by life, "invisible," joyless, miserable, quietly desperate --Mama Oswald. Nothing need be said about a discrepancy between their status and their aspirations. Aspiration has long since died, if it ever lived.[42]

Some of the researchers who use these instruments express similar reservations. Meier and Bell comment in one study that the Srole scale measures despair, hopelessness and discouragement.[43]

A further complication to the problem of just what is measured by the Srole scale is offered by Leslie G. Carr in his study of "The Srole Items and Acquiescence."[44] Comparing survey data for the Srole items and their obverse forms as administered to the same respondents, Carr notes that there is a significant tendency for respondents who want to present the least resistant appearance to agree with items as presented. This in turn would result in high anomia scores on the Srole scale. Carr further observes that such acquiescence to questionnaire items is more prevalent among the disprivileged, groups with which other empirical studies associated higher anomia scores. Carr concludes:

> ...it may well be that when questions of this type are used with lower class and lower ethnic status respondents, agreeing response set cannot be eliminated from the responses, and instruments like the Srole items will inevitably measure acquiescence to some degree. It may also be that a number of correlations that have been obtained between "anomie" [sic] and other attitude scales are spurious, to some degree, because of acquiescence.[45]

This critical weakness of the Srole scale, the lack of control over agreement response set, is also noted by Ludz, and by Robinson and Shaver.[46]

Ironically, the muddying of the meaning of anomie through social psychological measurement has led to its grouping by researchers with various measures of alienation. Alienation as conceptualized by Marx and anomie as discussed by Durkheim were both radical concepts but residing at opposite ends of the ideological spectrum.[47] One brief report shows high intercorrelation among eight such measures of "personal disturbance" including the Srole scale.[48]

While Srole meaningfully attempts to maintain a distinction between anomie and anomia, research applications have tended to ignore or minimize this caveat. Thus the previously cited Mizruchi study of "social structure and anomia" which purports to test Merton's theory of anomie.[49] Merton himself must also be held guilty of tending to equate the two concepts.[50]

The situation becomes thus one of a vague and diffuse concept with ambiguous and confused reference. In this context it is not surprising that McClosky and Schaar, unencumbered as Srole observes by either a background in sociology or psychology, would introduce the notion of anomy as a purely psychological, learned condition.[51] Nor is it surprising the results of 77 empirical studies of anomie surveyed by Stephen Cole and Harriet Zuckerman are generally inconclusive.[52]

Summary

As anomie theory and anomie research diverge, the problems of empirical measurement have reduced the concept to a vague, general and ambiguous concept. The sharp and often critical distinctions of theory have become blurred and homogenized in research practice. The too-long uncritical acceptance of measures such as the Srole scale has eroded the utility of the concept which becomes synonymous with despair or maladjustment.

The historical connection between anomie theory and research and concern for deviant behavior has tended to mark the concept as an ideological construct of those who would seek to preserve a particular social order and value system. In the Marxian perspective, the Merton formulation thus becomes a "phoney concept" which would legitimate greater exploitation and oppression.

In the next chapter, an attempt will be made to clarify the concept in the context of a general theory of social reality. Hopefully this synthesis will resolve the problem of ideological bias. If anomie can be understood as a function of social change and value disagreements, then the protagonists for change should applaud and promote it while those with more conservative interests may consider anomie a problem for control.

The inherent difficulties of operationalizing anomie theory will not be defeated by the synthesis developed in the next chapter. As is true in all survey research, what is to be measured is the subjective experience of individuals. However, it is intended that the measurements should bear a closer relation to the theoretical concepts.

Finally, the works of two writers, Peter L. Berger and J. Milton Yinger have been purposely omitted at this time and will be discussed in the next chapter.[53]

SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES OF YOUTH

Introduction

For many observers there is something both disconcerting and compelling in certain activities of contemporary young people.

> How are the young to be seen? Are they to be idealized? Or, are they to be feared? This much is clear: there can be little truth and a great deal of fantasy in the images conjured up by the adult world as to the nature and direction of the young.[54]

Attesting to this current fascination with the young and their discontent is a swelling list of publications addressed to the phenomena and by the variety of notions that are advanced as explanation. Of this variety, four salient approaches will be considered here: (1) generation gap; (2) status inconsistency; (3) alienation; and (4) contraculture.

Generation Gap

One particularly ubiquitous notion which purports to account for apparent youth discontent is the idea of generation gap. This is not a notion unique to the contemporary scene; Feuer notes: "Generational conflict...has been a universal theme of history."[55] Despite the temptation to dismiss this concept as an over-generalized and well-worn cliche, it is often the case with such persistent ideas that it contains an element of reality. Considering the accelerating rate of technological change and the concomitant cultural lag, it is not wholly unexpected to find that the worlds of parents and their children are further apart than ever before.[56]

Reference to salient values reveals a fundamental basis of generational conflict. Seligman notes that among students most conscious of a generation gap there is a tendency to rank themselves over their parents as more honest, more tolerant of other people's views, and more liable to "do something about what you believe is right."[57] Keniston takes this observation a step further. While demonstrating a basic congruence between the values of the young and their parents, he notes that the young tend to see their parents as given to compromising these values in practice.[58] The parents are thus perceived variously as dominated, humiliated, ineffectual, or unwilling to act on the basis of their principles. The dynamic tension of the generation gap may be understood as the fundamental ambivalence with which the young regard their parents. Such images of their parents "help define one of the basic tensions in these young radicals, the tension between having principles and acting on them."[59]

These distinctions, however, bear little resemblance to the easy, almost off-hand way in which generational dissensus is so frequently posited as the definitive explanation. The sentimentalized, oversimplified, rather pleasant idea which is frequently encountered implies that the current situation is merely one more act in the historical tragicomedy of youthful rebellion against the world of its elders.

> The notion is agreeable because it implies that this young generation too will eventually come to terms with its elders and their institutions; that the arguments now swirling around the campuses will pass; and that at some point, looking back through a nostalgic haze, we will perceive the young rebels of the 1960's as legitimate successors to the flappers of the 1920's, the campus radicals of the 1930's, and the "beats" of the 1950's, all of whom influenced our society in one way or another but were ultimately absorbed into it.[60]

There is some evidence to suggest that this prognosis may ultimately be borne out. Alternatively, it is also possible that current intergenerational tensions indicate not only a reaction to technocratic society, but also the beginning of a rebellious attempt at change --however idealistic the phraseology.[61]

The present objection to the notion of generation gap does not derive from its uncertain future resolution. For the purposes of this study it is rejected because of the facile vernacular usage rooted in an order-consensus social ideology. Through overuse the concept has become virtually meaningless except to suggest --reassuringly-- that there is no real cause for concern. More objectionable still is the popular tendency to invoke this concept only with reference to particular groups or categories of young people.

Status Inconsistency

A second approach to the understanding of youth is critical of the "common error" in most analyses of young people, "an exaggeration of those aspects making for stress, turmoil, and subsequently for deviance and a variety of other psychic misfortunes."[62] Noting that youth is a concept peculiar to industrial/technological society, such notions as "prolongation of adolescence," "status ambiguity," or "marginality" are advanced in explanation of youthful behavior.[63] Focusing on the incongruence of social and biological time marking the adolescent transition from child to adult, it is suggested that the increasing time interval required for the mastery of adult skills after physical maturity places strains on young people who are attempting to achieve independence while constrained within what is essentially a dependency role.

Rebelliousness and dissent are acknowledged, but attributed to the peculiar status inconsistency of youth.

> This youthful population is "available" for recruitment to moral causes because their marginal, ambiguous position in the social structure renders them sensitive to moral inconsistencies (note their talent for perceiving "hypocrisy"), because the major framework of their experience (education) emphasizes "ideal" aspects of the culture, and because their exclusion from adult responsibilities means that they are generally unrestrained by the institutional ties and commitments that normally function as a brake upon purely moral feeling; they also have time for it.[64]

An identifying feature of this perspective is its primary consideration for the great numbers of young people who accept the values and attitudes of their elders or who diligently pursue such "normal" youth goals as educational achievement. These large categories are designated as "scrupulous youth" and "studious youth" by David Matza, one proponent of this approach.[65]

There is a sufficient validity in this perspective as to warrant consideration within an over-all understanding of youth. However, as a single approach the status inconsistency perspective has only limited utility for this study, principally for its failure to adequately examine the extent, meaning, or temper of contemporary youth dissent and rebellion. Dissent, rebelliousness, or other "unconventional" behavior is regarded as not much more than youthful "kicks" with the implication that these are ephemeral phenomena which will also pass as the young settle down to conventional family and career options.

> Dig it or not, American youth is not in rebellion against its parents, their values, or the authority of their culture.[66]

> ...the dilemma is that for too long we have been searching for its [youth dissent] explanation in the ideology, rhetoric, and occasional good sense which gushes from the modern university. This is understandable, because most of the historians and political scientists were understandably concerned with what their kids were saying.
>
> But they were not the only ones on the block.[67]

However comforting such a notion may be to many, such an understanding tends to minimize and neglect the concerns which other writers hold for the unprecedented, widespread dissent of contemporary youth. One such observer is Theodore Roszak.

> What is special about the generational transition we are in is the scale on which it is taking place and the depth of the antagonism it reveals. Indeed, it would hardly seem an exaggeration to call what we see arising among the young a "counter culture." Meaning: a culture so radically disaffiliated from the mainstream assumptions of our society that it scarcely looks to many as a culture at all, but takes on the alarming appearance of a barbaric intrusion.[68]

Much of the more recent literature is particularly concerned with dissent. Noteworthy in this regard are the uses of notions such as alienation or contraculture.[69]

Contraculture

Yinger introduced the concept of contraculture in an effort to differentiate the various phenomena previously subsumed by the inclusive notion of subculture.[70] Contraculture is to be the preferred concept

> ...wherever the normative system of a group contains, as a primary element, a theme of conflict with the values of the total society, where personality variables are directly involved in the development and maintenance of the group's values, and wherever its norms can be understood only by reference to the relationships of the group to a surrounding dominant culture.[71]

Several writers, most popularly Roszak, have seized upon this notion as a convenient shorthand for describing the nature and scope of contemporary youth dissent.[72]

Essential to such usage is the element of conflict with dominant cultural themes. In Roszak's commentary, the marriage of mushrooming technological development and rapidly expanding bureaucratic control --"technocracy"-- has enslaved the citizen who, confronted by bewildering size and complexity, finds it necessary to defer all matters to those who know better, the credentialist experts.

> Under the technocracy we have become the most scientific of societies; yet...men throughout the "Developed world" become more and more bewildered dependents of inaccessible castles wherein inscrutable technicians conjure with their fate.[73]

He then observes the dynamic of counter cultural dissent:

> Perhaps the young of this generation haven't the stamina to launch the epochal transformation they seek; but there should be no mistaking the fact that they want nothing less. "Total rejection" is a phrase that comes readily to their lips, often before the mind provides even a blurred picture of the new culture that is to displace the old.[74]

As Hodges succinctly summarizes this point, "fundamentally, youth protest represents a dialectic reaction to the perceived drift of postmodern society."[75]

Within the seeming capricious and inconstant contracultural expression, Hodges carefully identifies ten themes which he considers both "pervasive and enduring."[76] These include (1) a commitment to participatory democracy, and high values of (2) authenticity and commitment, (3) moral purity, (4) tolerance, (5) community, (6) the romanticism of freedom and self-expression, (7) irreverence for tradition as a guideline for the present, (8) a sense of profound distrust for authority and the decline of deferential behavior, (9) a nondoctrinal character with a repudiation of conventional ideologies, and finally, (10) the renunciation of conventional careers and vocational commitments with the quest for self-actualization.

To be sure, there is evidence to support these interpretations but youth discontent is many-faceted, frequently amorphous in style and content, and often inconsistent and self-contradictory. That these phenomena are best understood as a contracultural social movement of such broad implication is at best a subject for debate. Throughout the contracultural literature there is the profound sense of disaffiliated and disenchanted intellectual observers hymning the Promethean purity of youth in hopeful anticipation of salvation --their own and that of their society. Roszak confesses:

> But from my own point of view, the counter culture, far from merely "meriting" attention, desparately requires it, since I am at a loss to know where, besides among these dissenting young people and their heirs of the next few generations, the radical discontent and innovation can be found that might transform this disoriented civilization of ours into something a human being can identify as home.[77]

Alienation

In attempting to give emphasis to the separation or estrangement of youth in present society, some analyses resort to the concept of alienation. In contrasting the activist and alienated responses within the contraculture, Kenneth Keniston typifies this approach.

> In contrast to the politically optimistic, active and socially-concerned protester, the culturally alienated student is far too pesimistic and too firmly opposed to "The System" to wish to demonstrate his disapproval in any organized way. His demonstrations of dissent are private. Through nonconformity of behavior, ideology and dress, through personal experimentation and above all through efforts to intensify his own subjective experience, he shows his distaste and disinterest in politics and society.[78]

Keniston's activist attempts to change the world around him. The alienated student, convinced that meaningful change of the social and political world is impossible, considers "dropping out" the only real option. The alienated response is, in many respects roughly equivalent to Merton's retreatists, who are "*in* the society but not *of* it."[79]

Probably extending his contrast too far, Keniston links the alienated response with the use of hallucinogenic drugs "precisely because these agents combine withdrawal from ordinary social life with the promise of greatly intensified subjectivity and perception."[80]

The literature suggests that there is a danger in attempting to fully extend the contrast between alienated and activist responses. In both Keniston and Roszak, the two modes are together located within the notion of contraculture. Roszak explains:

> The tension one senses between these two movements is real enough. But I think there exists, at a deeper level, a theme that unites these variations and which accounts for the fact that Hippie and student activist continue to recognize each other as allies.[81]

He continues to suggest that the underlying unity is the "extraordinary personalism" that characterizes both. Activism and Hippie-alienation are both grounded, he contends, "in an intensive examination of the self, of the buried wealth of personal consciousness."[82]

Summary

Observations drawn on these perspectives in the literature begin with the truism that it is ultimately impossible to put forward a concept or theory which does not finally rest on ideological premises. Such is the nature of perception and understanding. Nevertheless, there are certain concepts which more closely embrace ideological premises and thus limit their utility for those who would be uncomfortable with the implications of the respective ideologies.

For the purposes of this study, each of the contemporary perspectives surveyed has the limitation of close alliance with a particular social ideology.

The notions of generation gap and status inconsistency generally derive from values of consensus and preservation of existing social institutions. The concepts of contraculture and alienation, as utilized in the sociological study of youth, are frequently linked to a generalized conflict perspective and values of change. As a result of their particularistic concerns, there are related limitations in the separate ability of any of the four approaches to provide for an inclusive analysis. The concepts of generation gap and status inconsistency by focusing on conformity fail to sufficiently account for the nature of dissent. Alienation and contraculture by directing attention to dissent and rebellion, largely ignore or minimize more conforming role-adjustments.

An additional problem would be associated with the use of either of the concepts generation gap or alienation. Their somewhat indiscriminate overuse in both popular as well as scholarly writings has resulted in a large measure of conceptual ambiguity. Thus a final consideration in the decision to reject these concepts for the purposes of this study is the understanding that any possible benefit to the analysis from their use would be more than off-set by an increased difficulty with the specification of meaning.[83]

One implication of having rejected approaches to the study of youth phenomena on grounds that they manifestly incorporate particularistic biases is the suggestion that the writer seeks to straddle both ideological camps. Or is the conceptual orientation to be advanced only a simplistic reaffirmation of the now discredited "value-free sociology" myth?

Such is not the case. The previous approaches have been rejected not for their value-bias exclusively, but for the limitations which they would impose on the analysis. The value which is served in the present analysis is for inclusive consideration of the full range of youth phenomena.

It is suggested that the conceptual approach put forward in the next chapter provides for such a comprehensive analysis. The utility of this approach will be demonstrated if the perspective can be shown compatible with the separate partisan purposes of both consensus and conflict ideologues. Parenthetically, it remains the firm conviction of the writer that one need be neither professed rebel nor apologist for the present order to conduct meaningful sociological inquiry.

FOOTNOTES

1. John Horton, "The Dehumanization of Anomie and Alienation," British Journal of Sociology, vol. 15, December 1964. p.285.
2. Elwin H. Powell, The Design of Discord, New York: Oxford University
3. Cf. ibid.

4. Emile Durkheim, *Suicide*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951. p.275.

5. Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1964. pp.1-2.

6. Joachim Israel, *Alienation from Marx to Modern Sociology*, Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1971. pp.137-8.

7. Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, New York: The Free Press, 1965. pp.131-60.

8. *Ibid.*, pp.134-5.

9. Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951. p.259.

10. *Ibid.*, p.259.

11. Robert Dubin, "Deviant Behavior and Social Structure: Continuities in Social Theory," *American Sociological Review*, vol. 24, April 1959. pp.147-64.

12. Richard A. Cloward, "Illegitimate Means, Anomie and Deviant Behavior," *American Sociological Review*, vol. 24, April 1959. pp.164-76.

13. *Ibid.*, p.175.

14. Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin, *Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs*, New York: The Free Press, 1960.

15. Albert K. Cohen, *Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang*, New York: The Free Press, 1955. CF. Merton, *op. cit.*, p.179.

16. Cohen, *op. cit.*, p.36.

17. Peter C. Ludz, *Alienation as a Concept in the Social Sciences*, The Hague: Mouton and Company, 1975. p.23.

18. Merton, *op. cit.*, p.165.

19. Durkheim, *Suicide*, *op. cit.*

20. Bernard Lander, *Towards an Understanding of Juvenile Delinquency*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1954.

21. *Ibid.*, p.55.

22. Powell, *op. cit.*

23. Robert M. MacIver, *The Ramparts We Guard*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950. p.85.

24. David Riesman, Nathan Glazer and Reuel Denney, *The Lonely Crowd*, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1956. pp.240-5.

25. Leo Srole, "Social Integration and Certain Corollaries: An Exploratory Study," American Sociological Review, vol. 21, December 1956. pp.709-16.

26. Ludz, op. cit., p.33.

27. Srole, op. cit., p.711.

28. Dorothy L. Meier and Wendell Bell, "Anomia and Differential Access to the Achievement of Life Goals," American Sociological Review, vol. 24, April 1959. pp.189-202.

29. Ibid., p.201.

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83. The conceptual ambiguity associated with much of the current use of the notion of generation gap has been noted. A similar difficulty is found in the use of the concept alienation. Since Marx, alienation has been forced into a variety of sociological contexts which in common share only a general resemblance. The consequent vagueness and ambiguity have reduced the concept to near meaningless generality, a virtual synonym for unhappiness. This difficulty is underscored by a spate of recent writings which seek to clarify and sharpen the concept. Unfortunately, the agreement among the exegetes is tenuous. *Cf.* John Horton, *op. cit.*; Ephriam H. Mizruchi, "Alienation and Anomie: Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives," in Irving L. Horowitz (ed.), *The New Sociology*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1965, pp.235-67; and particularly the longer work of Israel, *op. cit.*

Chapter III

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

> "_All_ social reality is precarious. _All_ societies are constructions in the face of chaos. The constant possibility of anomic terror is actualized whenever the legitimations that obscure the precariousness are threatened or collapse."
>
> -Berger & Luckmann[1]

A THEORY OF ANOMIE

Introduction

In etymological terms, anomie is "normlessness." Yet the literature of a century and a half of sociology would indicate that there is no social behavior that is, or can be, normless. Rather, as the literature of anomie reviewed in the previous chapter indicates, the concept points to a lack of coherence, conflict, or ambiguity in normative systems and social institutions.

The theory of anomie which is advanced in this chapter shares this orientation. The conceptual perspective employed is derived from Peter Berger's understanding of the social construction of reality.[2] From this vantage, anomie is a variable which affects both the integrity of social structures and individual subjective meaningfulness. The relationship is understood as a dialectical one.

Subsequently, a taxonomical treatment of anomie is discussed which is consistent with the theory and permits operationalization. This section of the chapter concludes with a consideration of anomie and youth in contemporary society.

Socially Constructed Reality and Anomie

To Berger, social reality is a product of man and his subjective consciousness, a dialectic phenomenon that although solely a human product continuously acts back upon its producer.[3] He interprets this dialectic process of society in three moments or steps: externalization, objectivation, and internalization.

> Externalization is the ongoing outpouring of human being into the world, both in the physical and mental activity of men. Objectivation is the attainment by the products of this activity (again both physical and mental) of a reality that confronts its original producers as a facticity external to and other than themselves. Internalization is the reappropriation by men of this same reality, transforming it once again from structures of the objective world into structures of the subjective consciousness.[4]

He concludes:

> It is through externalization that society is a human product. It is through objectivation that society becomes a reality *sui generis*. It is through internalization that man is a product of society.[5]

With an instinctual structure that is at birth both underspecialized and undirected toward a species-specific environment, man encounters an incomplete world, an open world, one that must be fashioned by man's own activity. Man does not inherit a given relationship to the world; he must continually establish a relationship with it.

> Only in such a world produced by himself can he locate himself and realize his life. But the same process that builds his world also "finishes" his own being. In other words, man not only produces a world, but he also produces himself. More precisely, he produces himself in a world.[6]

All human social activity is thus inevitably the collective outpouring of meaning into reality.[7] Society is the product of man and his subjective consciousness rooted in the phenomenon of externalization. However, once formed, it cannot be reabsorbed into consciousness at will. It stands outside the subjectivity of the individual "as a world," having attained the character of objective reality. Through objectivation, "society confronts man as external, subjectively opaque and coercive facticity."[8] As objectivated reality, society is a world for man to inhabit. The institutions of man's society will be real. Restated, social reality is not only collectively produced, but it remains real by virtue of collective recognition.

> No human construction can be accurately called a social phenomenon unless it has achieved that measure of objectivity that compels the individual to recognize it as real....The fundamental coerciveness of society lies not in its machineries of social control, but in its power to constitute and to impose itself as reality.[9]

Society, as objectivated reality, encompasses the biography of the individual which now unfolds as a series of events in that reality. Man's biography is objectively real only when it may be understood within the structures of the social world.

In the third moment of Berger's dialectic, objectivated social reality now functions as the formative agency for individual consciousness. By internalization, the individual apprehends the elements of the objectivated world --institutions and meanings, roles and identities-- as phenomena internal to his consciousness at the same time as he encounters them as phenomena of external reality. Socialization has as its crucial dimension not only that the individual learns the appropriate meanings but that he identifies with and is shaped by them.

> Every society that continues in time faces the problem of transmitting its objectivated meanings from one generation to the next....The success of socialization depends upon the establishment of symmetry between the objective world of society and the subjective world of the individual.[10]

The socialized man not only possesses the meanings of social reality but by making them his meanings, represents and expresses them by externalization in concert with others ongoingly re-affirms and re-creates both his world and himself.

> It is possible to sum up the dialectic...by saying that the individual becomes that which he is addressed as by others. One may add that the individual appropriates the world in conversation with others and, furthermore, that both identity and world remain real...only as long as he can continue the conversation.[11]

Having now reviewed Berger's theory of the dialectic relation between objective and subjective socially constructed reality, we may fully understand the significance of what for the purposes of this theory of anomie is a key proposition.

In its fundamental character, the socially constructed world is the ordering of experience. A meaningful order, or "nomos" is thereby given to the discrete experiences and meanings of individuals. Man's social activity which creates the world he lives in is ordering, or nomizing, activity. By participating in the creation of the nomos, the individual is able to make sense out of his own biography. His past is ordered in terms of what he knows to be objectively real while his present is integrated in the same order. He is able to find the future meaningful to the extent that he projects that order upon it. *To live in society is to live an ordered and meaningful existence. And society is the guardian of order and meaning, objectively in its institutions and subjectively in its structuring of individual consciousness.*[12]

This chapter opened with the observation that society and the socially constructed nomos is inherently precarious. As nothing but the product of man's collective externalizations, it is contingent upon those continued externalizations.

> Supported by human activity [the socially constructed world is] constantly threatened by the human facts of self-interest and stupidity. The institutional programs are sabotaged by individuals with conflicting interests. Frequently individuals simply forget them or are incapable of learning them in the first place.[13]

These threats are mitigated by the fundamental processes of socialization and social control which seek to ensure consensus of the fundamental features of the social world and to maintain resistances within tolerable limits. A third mitigating process seeks to explain and justify the social order while, to a certain extent, disguising its humanly constructed character. This third process is the process of legitimation.

> Legitimation as a process is best described as a "second-order" objectivation of meaning. Legitimation produces new meanings that serve to integrate the meanings already attached to disparate institutional processes. The function of legitimation is to make objectively available and subjectively plausible the "first-order" objectivations that have been institutionalized.[14]

Legitimations are both normative and cognitive in character constituting socially objectivated "knowledge" not only of what ought to be, but frequently simply proposing what is.

Berger distinguishes levels of legitimation by the degree of explanation advanced to justify the nomos.[15] "Pretheoretical" legitimations are the simple affirmations of the nomos, the acknowledgement of the way things are and the body of self-evident knowledge upon which all other explanations rest. "Incipiently theoretical" legitimations characterized by proverbs, moral maxims and traditional wisdom provide rudimentary explanations linking sets of objective meanings in highly pragmatic schemes. The third level of legitimation contains "explicit theories" by which specific sectors of the social order are explained and justified through specialized bodies of knowledge. Such legitimations go beyond purely pragmatic applications to become "pure theory," thus attaining a measure of autonomy with respect to the legitimated institutions. The fourth level of legitimation, "highly theoretical" explanations, integrates different provinces of meaning by encompassing the institutional order in a symbolic totality. At this last level, it may be said that "the nomos of a society attains theoretical self-consciousness" and all less-than-total legitimations are theoretically integrated in an inclusive *Weltanschauung*.[16]

At this point, the second of Berger's key propositions may be understood. *The socially constructed nomos intends, as far as possible, to be taken for granted.* The precariousness of the nomos is masked to the extent that the individual, both subjectively and objectively, regards the key meanings not just as useful, desirable or right but as inevitable, as part of the universal "nature of things." "*In other words, institutional programs are endowed with an ontological status to the point where to deny them is to deny being itself --the being of the universal order of things and, consequently, one's own being in this order.*"[17]

The socially constructed nomos is thus understood as a shield against terror. Radical separation from the social world constitutes a potent threat to the individual. In such cases it is not only that he loses emotionally satisfying ties, but also he loses his orientation in experience. In extreme cases, he may lose his sense of identity and reality.

In the marginal situations of human social existence, the inate precariousness of reality is revealed. Such marginal situations commonly occur in dreams or in fantasy where the individual may come to suspect that the world may have other aspects than its "real" one, that the previously accepted definitions of reality may be fragile or even fraudulent. The pre-eminent marginal situation is death. Through witnessing the death of others and anticipating his own death, the individual may be strongly moved to question the *ad hoc* cognitive and normative procedures of social reality.

> Every socially defined reality remains threatened by lurking "irrealities." Every socially constructed nomos must face the constant possibility of its collapse into anomie. Seen in the perspective of society, every nomos is an area of meaning carved out of a vast meaninglessness, a small clearing of lucidity in a formless, dark, always meaningless jungle.[18]

The continuing plausibility of the nomos depends upon specific social circumstances. The total plausibility structure incorporates (1) social definitions of reality, (2) social relations that take these definitions for granted, and (3) the supporting legitimations.[19] The strength of this plausibility, ranging from unquestioned certitude through firm probability to mere opinion, is directly dependent upon the supporting structure. Yet the institutional order and concomitantly, the order of individual biography, is continuingly threatened by the presence of realities that are meaningless in its terms.[20]

Should the nomic structures of plausibility become inconsistent, incorporate value conflicts, or suffer some other form of disruption, both the objective order of society and the subjective meaning of the individual are endangered.

Anomie, literally a negation of the nomic order, confronts the individual not just as objective problems of social activity through a lack of certainty in interaction but subjectively as well in the concurrent loss of personal meaning through the attenuation of his orientation in experience.

As Yinger succinctly phrased it: "What is anarchy in government is anomie in society."[21]

The Nature of Anomie

In its largest meaning, anomie refers to an objective condition of the nomos where plausibility structures are weakened such that social norms and institutions fail to sufficiently control men's actions. It is a condition of the nomos which is characterized by divergent and conflicting definitions of reality, uncertain or problematic social relations and existing legitimations which do not adequately account for the apparent reality and thereby fail to be convincing.

Individuals may possess unambiguous understandings of the requirements for specific social situations but if they are interacting with others who accept different norms, the reality which they jointly share is characterized by ambiguity, uncertainty and conflict. In this sense the concept of anomie describes a condition of the nomos where characteristic regulation and order become deregulation and disorder.[22]

From this perspective, three important observations on the nature of anomie are possible. First, anomie is a quality of the nomos, of objective social reality. "Conflicting definitions of reality" is a quality that rests inherently in the interaction of two or more individuals. Thus it is impossible to speak of a person as "having anomie" or "being anomic." It is the normative ambiguity or value conflict of the social situation which constitutes anomie, not the responses of individuals to it. Anomie represents a loss of symmetry and complimentarity in the mutual understandings of the social situation.

Second, the concept of anomie can be divested of much of the moral connotation which has tended to accumulate through most of its previous use in sociology, particularly in its connection with research on delinquency and deviance. As a quality of the nomos, anomie is a condition that is not necessarily pathological, dysfunctional or "bad." In the recent Canadian experience, the struggle of French-speaking citizens for a more meaningful and commensurate place in Canadian society or the efforts of students at universities and colleges to secure greater participation in and control over decision-making processes that affect them, are social realities which have proceeded with no small measures of anomie. It is consistent both with the previous usage of Durkheim and more recent sociology as well as with the present theory to suggest that increased anomie is an inevitable part of meaningful social change wherein old values and realities give way to the new.[23]

Third, and finally, anomie is a variable that can range from very little to a great deal.[24] The validity of this observation is best conveyed by attempting to imagine a condition of no anomie. A fully non-anomic society would be one in which there was absolute consensus regarding definitions of reality, all social relations of all social actors invariably manifested this consensus, and plausibility structures that were unqualified and flawless. Short of some naively simplistic notions of the ideal Gemeinschaft or the normative tyranny of Orwell's 1984, such a society is unimaginable. The relevant question is not whether anomie characterizes our society, but rather how much anomie is there?

The notions of change and pluralism direct our consideration of anomie in Canadian society.[25] Widespread social change is part of the experience of Canadian society as it is of all industrialized and industrializing societies. Included among the issues which have concerned sociologists in Canada are the changing role and structure of the family, the increasing number and influence of large-scale economic social, and political organizations, the increasing manifestations of deviant behaviors, and the increasing concentration of urban rather than rural residence. Traditional institutional structures do not yield to urban-industrial patterns without value conflicts; the transition from traditional plausibility structures could hardly be smooth.

Canada is a plural society where a cultural mosaic has been both encouraged and perpetuated. In consequence, the society has become segmented in terms of diverse and discrete institutional patterns including the family, religion, and at times, political and economic systems.[26] At the same time, population heterogeneity and values of individual freedom and expression have given rise to plural forms of social ideologies and values, philosophies and objectives, as well as social behaviors and expression. Pluralism thus extends also to plausibility structures.

> The modern individual exists in a plurality of worlds, migrating back and forth between competing and often contradictory plausibility structures, each of which is weakened by the simple fact of its involuntary coexistence with other plausibility structures. In addition to the reality-confirming significant others, there are always and everywhere "those others," annoying disconfirmers, disbelievers --perhaps the modern nuisance par excellence.[27]

The simple existence of value disagreements within social organization does not itself constitute anomie. The concepts of socialization, social control, and legitimation indicate the powers of a society to maintain the nomos and to limit the extent to which such disagreements may disrupt interaction. There may be commonly agreed upon institutional procedures and principles which enable the interaction of the bearers of conflicting values. Or, where a common basis for interaction is not available, other patterns of social organization may operate to insulate the protagonists or otherwise mitigate normative diversity.[28] Thus value disagreements which do not disrupt the workings of the society --the interactions of its members that require the fulfillment of shared expectations-- shall be designated as pluralistic, not anomic.

Value disagreements of sufficient quality or extent to disrupt interaction are understood as the defining feature of anomie. Plausibility structures are seriously weakened to the point that there is a lack of widely shared norms to control interaction and social relations no longer assume common social definitions. Of such value disagreements, Yinger provides the terse summation: "The difference makes a difference."[29]

Anomic value disagreements may be further differentiated by the extent to which interaction is disrupted or made difficult. For example, individuals, as members of subgroups with comparatively unambiguous value systems, may separately have clear understandings of social definitions and the appropriate behaviors. However, where there is important interaction between representatives of contradistinctive subgroups, none can act in the expected ways. In effect, "when others do not play by the rules of the game --my rules-- there is likely to be more argument and conflict than playing."[30] Value disagreements of this order with the attendant normative deregulation and undermined plausibility structures shall be defined as subcultural anomie.

Subcultural anomie is a relatively stabilized condition of the nomos. However, Merton has suggested that under certain circumstances anomie will intensify and spread within the nomos.[31] To understand this proposition, it is important to recall that both the nomos and anomie are not simply conditions that happen to obtain but rather ongoing objectivations within the dialectic process of reality construction. The apprehension of frustrated or ineffective social relations as the consequence of social and cultural anomie can further erode existing plausibility structures. The consequent weakening of subjective and objective "controls" on the behavior of individuals may lead to innovative externalizations.

Such innovative behavior intensifies the existing conditions of anomie. In addition, to the extent that such behavior is "successful," in the achievement of goals, individuals who were originally immune to weakening plausibility structures begin to apprehend the declining plausibility of traditional legitimations and are increasingly attracted to the successful innovations. Thus anomie spreads within the nomos characterizing the social reality not just of those actively externalizing the social reality in innovative modes but also such additional persons as are linked in the network of interaction.

The process thus enlarges the extent of anomie within the nomos so that progressively greater numbers of individuals who did not apprehend the relatively slight anomie which first obtained do so now as anomie spreads and intensifies. This cumulative process of objectivation of anomie has profound implications for existing legitimations. Their efficacy becomes increasingly questioned as they are rendered progressively problematic and unconvincing.

Value disagreements which both disrupt interaction and are further associated with the process of cumulative weakening in plausibility structures shall be defined as full anomie. In the extreme, full anomie can lead to the total collapse of existing plausibility structures.

The various qualities of the nomos related to the different nature and extent of value disagreements are summarized in Table 3:1.[32]

Table 3:1. Qualities of Socio-Cultural Conditions by Nature and Extent of Value Disagreements.

Quality of Socio-Cultural Conditions	Nature and Extent of Value Disagreements		
	Value Disagreements Present	Interaction Disrupted	Cumulative Weakening of Plausibility Structures
CULTURAL UNITY	no	no	no
PLURALISTIC VALUE DISAGREEMENTS	YES	no	no
SUBCULTURAL ANOMIE	YES	YES	no
FULL ANOMIE	YES	YES	YES

In the complex, heterogeneous, differentiated society, all four qualities of social and cultural conditions may be found simultaneously in continuously changing proportion. Prima facie, such conditions may be certainly understood to characterize Canadian society. The quality of social reality predominantly experienced by any single person will be a function of the individual social situation.

Adjustment to Anomie

The existence of some anomie does not thereby represent a problem for all members of the society. There may be some intellectual appreciation for the existence of anomie, but for individuals who primarily encounter and experience nomic qualities of cultural unity or pluralistic value disagreements, interaction is not disrupted in the main and both consciousness and reality ongoingly affirm the plausibility structures.[33]

For those to whom the principal qualities of social and cultural conditions are subcultural or full anomie the implications are quite different. As understood here, the objective nomos appropriated by the individual through the process of internalization becomes his own subjective ordering of experience. His sense of personal meaningfulness is thus inextricably bound-up in the reality definitions of the nomos; only with reference to the nomos can he understand his biography. Anomic disruptions distort not just the social reality that the individual inhabits but also his subjective notions of identity and meaning.

> Modernity has indeed been liberating. It has liberated human beings from the narrow controls of family, clan, tribe or small community. It has opened up for the individual previously unheard-of options and avenues of mobility....However, these liberations have had a high price. Perhaps the easiest way to refer to it...[is as a sort of] homelessness....that [has] left the individual...beset with threats of meaninglessness.[34]

In the weakening of plausibility structures, anomie is disorienting for the individual. The meanings of the past and the present are divorced both objectively and subjectively while the nomos may no longer be generally projected to provide coherence to the individual and collective future. Thus for the individual the threatening implications of anomic disruption in the nomos is the ultimate danger of personal meaninglessness.

> This danger is the nightmare par excellence, in which the inddividual is submerged in a world of disorder, senselessness, and madness. Reality and identity are malignantly transformed into meaningless figures of horror.[35]

That this is a statement of the extreme is undeniable. However, the apprehension of even a little anomie carries with it the attenuation of plausibility structures which opens for the individual a consciousness incorporates an awareness of the portending possibility that reality may further collapse into full anomie.

The essential understanding here is the premise that anomie is not just something that is experienced but must be lived through and explained.

In various ways, those affected are moved to make individual and collective adjustments to anomie, to seek to re-establish a meaningful nomos. This imperative is suggested by Berger in his precis of Durkheim:

> Anomie is unbearable to the point where the individual may seek death in preference to it. Conversely, existence within a nomic world may be sought at the cost of all sorts of sacrifice and suffering --and even at the cost of life itself, if the individual believes that this ultimate sacrifice has nomic significance.[36]

Adjustment to social and cultural conditions of anomie has both objective and subjective components. Objectively, adjustment to anomie is found in social relations which re-establish reality definitions and appropriate legitimations. Subjectively, adjustment to anomie is found in the appropriation of these re-established plausibility structures to consciousness and the rediscovery of personal meaningfulness.

Merton's paradigm of responses to anomie is the widely known approach to objective adjustment to anomie.[37] This approach cross-classifies adjustments in terms of affirmation of the nomos as defined by acceptance of cultural goals and institutionally prescribed means. In the present perspective, Merton's approach is found to be inadequate due to at least three considerations. First, the Merton paradigm is limited by an inappropriate and undifferentiated conceptualization of anomie. Anomie has been shown to be a far more complex phenomenon than the simple disjunction of institutional procedures and cultural goals.

Second, there is an emphasis in Merton on goal-seeking behavior, specifically on the attainment of economically defined success goals. Here the focus is much more broadly given to successful social relations of all forms and on the characteristic plausibility structures.

Third, the Merton formulation defines its descriptive concepts relative to dominant social realities thus predisposing the consideration of adjustments to anomie within the perspective of deviance. This consensual bias not only carries an implicit moral judgment but tends to minimize and ignore the complexity of contemporary society through the inadequate consideration of alternative reality definitions and plausibility structures and through the de-emphasis of concern for social change and emergent realities.

For present purposes, an additional limitation to the Merton approach is the tendency to emphasize individual responses. Implicit to the understanding of reality as a social construction is the further notion that, objectively, adjustments to anomic realities are also collective enterprises. Behavioral adjustment to anomie is the collective effort to re-establish a meaningful nomos with attendant plausibility structures.

A fundamental premise with regard to the understanding of objective adjustment to anomie is the notion that, generally speaking, all social action is intended to reduce anomie and approximate order. Thus, for the individual apprehending anomic qualities of the nomos, the entire constellation of social activity may be regarded as a behavioral adjustment in concert with others in the network of interactions. Different individuals and groups may respond differently with quite variable behavior and interaction. Nevertheless, they shall be similar in this fundamental respect: their behavior is seeking ordered, supportive and satisfying interaction and relations within a meaningful nomos while accounting for and explaining conflicting realities. And their behavior is a collective response. By contrast, individual adjustments which do not allow collective enterprise serve only to intensify anomic conditions and consequently heighten personal meaninglessness. Solitary solutions are not solutions.

The actual substantive character of objective behavioral adjustments are situation-specific and thus comprise a matter for empirical investigation. One such investigation, guided by hypotheses proposed in the last section of this chapter, is the subject for reporting in chapter VI.

One measure of the meaningful character of objective behavioral adjustments and the nomic structures thereby produced is the sense of personal identity and meaningfulness appropriated by the individual through internalization. Participation in a nomos incorporating qualities of anomie has been indicated to rob the individual consciousness of meaning and purpose. And, as has been suggested, the ultimate terror of such demoralization is intolerable. Thus, where anomic conditions impinge on individual consciousness, this subjective dilemma must be resolved in the social activities and affiliations of the individual. The disorienting sense of personal meaninglessness and despair must be contained and the objective conditions which produce it must be controlled, avoided, eliminated, or otherwise made meaningful.

Apart from the secondary objectivations of legitimation, nomic constructions have two aspects, one normative and the other cognitive. These are respectively the establishment of shared reality definitions and maintenance of social activity incorporating these definitions. Through appropriation to consciousness these become aspects of personal meaningfulness as confidence in reality or "hope," and orientation to particular behavioral modes or "discipline."

Specifically, as the internalization of appropriate reality definitions, hope is defined as the realistic feeling that what is wanted will happen; desire is oriented toward definable goals and infused with expectation. As the subjectivization of nomically consistent behavior, discipline is defined as the commitment to self-controlled, orderly conduct congruent to nomic expectations.

Subjective adjustment to anomie thus is to be understood as the re-establishment of personal meaningfulness by internal affirmation of suitable plausibility structures in elements of hope and discipline. Subjective adjustments are variable. Adjustment elements, hope and discipline, are themselves variables and may range --separately or together-- from very little to a great deal. Some adjustments may be considered more complete than others to the extent that greater degrees of hope and discipline are derived. Still, successful adjustment is determined where the individual through internalization appropriates subjective hope and discipline sufficient to restrain the dilemma of personal meaninglessness to tolerable dimensions. Thus while some subjective adjustments to anomie may provide for a more positive self-concept or greater personal satisfaction and fulfilment, this is not a criterion of successful adjustment. Eudaemonics aside, the essential character of subjective adjustment is not utopian but rather to make reality, as internalized, tolerable. In effect, "This may not be the best of all possible worlds, but it is the one I know."

Summary

The socially constructed world is fundamentally a shield against chaos through the ordering of experience and meaning both objectively and subjectively. It is characterized by a dialectic process of externalization, objectivation, and internalization. The secondary process of legitimation combines with the consequent reality definitions and concurring behaviors to constitute plausibility structures on which the order or nomos rests and disguise its humanly constructed character and precariousness.

Any threat to the nomos is _ipso facto_ not only a threat to the external realities and interaction networks but in individual terms it is a threat to personal identity and meaningfulness. For this reason, the weakening of plausibility structures in anomie is a potent problem, not just to the extent that objective realities become ambiguous, inadequate, or conflicting rendering social activity problematic, but in that anomic qualities of the nomos are subjectively apprehended as personal demoralization. In principle, both objective socio-cultural anomie and its subjective concomitant are intolerable.

By its complexity, heterogeneity, pluralism, and change, Canadian society may be understood as a nomos in which anomie is a variable that ranges from little or none to a significantly great amount. As mediated by specific social situations, individual experience of anomie may range from very little or cultural unity through pluralistic value disagreements to subcultural anomie where interaction may be disrupted to the most critical quality, full anomie, in which available plausibility structures may be cumulatively weakened to the point of impending or actual collapse.

Anomie is not just a condition to be experienced but must be lived through and explained. In various ways, individuals encountering anomic conditions are necessarily moved to make adjustments to anomie, to reestablish a meaningful nomos within the process of the social dialectic.

Such adjustments may be thus understood to have both objective and subjective aspects. Objectively they take the form of collective endeavors to re-construct a meaningful reality along with appropriate plausibility structures. Subjectively, adjustment to anomie in the appropriation to consciousness of the re-established nomos is the affirmation of the plausibility structures as elements of hope and discipline.

While both aspects of adjustment to anomie are understood as variable, adjustment has its objective purpose as the objectivation of a suitably plausible nomos while subjectively it is the recapturing of sufficient personal meaningfulness through adequate orientation in experience.

The matter of the nature of individual experience of anomie along with the issues of objective and subjective adjustments to anomic qualities of the nomos has been made the subject for empirical investigation and are reported in chapters IV, V and VI.

Youth and Anomie

As suggested by the review of the literature on youth in chapter II, the anomie of weakening and conflicting plausibility structures may be understood as a significant aspect of youthful nomic encounters. Each of the four conceptual approaches considered --generation gap, status inconsistency, contraculture, alienation-- variously incorporate notions of conflicting reality definitions, ambiguity or disruption of social relations, and legitimations that are inconsistent or ambiguous both cognitively and normatively. This understanding is most explicitly developed in the literature of youth contraculture and "the youth movement."[38] Very little imagination is required to interpret these perspectives as describing collective adjustments by young people --both objectively and subjectively-- to qualities of social and cultural anomie. The understanding of youth behavior as taking the character of the creation of a separate nomos and plausibility structure is fully developed in Coleman's notion of an increasingly separate and distinct adolescent society.[39]

The concept of anomie has also been explicitly invoked as explanation for particular aspects of youth phenomena. This is particularly true of the analysis of delinquency.[40] Also of interest for its application to the sociological analysis of youth behavior in Canada is the adaptation of Merton's formulation to the study of high school students in Quebec by Pedersen and Etheridge.[41]

The affinity between youth phenomena as _explanandum_ and anomie theory as _explanans_ is readily apparent when the nature of the social category we call "youth" is considered. Most commentators pass on the observation that the notions of youth and adolescence are social inventions of comparatively recent vintage peculiar to industrial societies.[42]

For example, the Romans of the pre-Christian era did not clearly differentiate between infancy, childhood, adolescence, and young adulthood. In medieval society, the idea of childhood did not exist, rather, children, especially among the poor, participated in the adult world as soon as they were beyond infancy.[43] Historically in English civil law, an adult was "a male infant who has attained the age of fourteen; [and] a female infant who has attained the age of twelve."[44]

The notion of "youth" as it is presently understood in Canadian society came about as a consequence of certain broad social and economic changes.

> In agrarian societies, young people were largely integrated into the adult world and separated from one another, while in advanced industrial society, owing to the spread of public education, young people tend to be cut off from the more inclusive adult world and thrown into a narrower world made up almost exclusively of their age peers.[45]

Puberty is a biological reality while youth is a social one. There is no biological basis for the idea that for several years after puberty young people should continue to be segregated from adults and prevented from assuming adult social, economic and sexual roles. By some point between the ages of sixteen and eighteen, virtually everyone is physiologically adult.

The historical trend in industrial societies, however, has been toward the requirement of ever higher levels of literacy and skills on the part of the work force. The relation of education and society has consequently been democratized from where education was regarded as a privilege for the few to the realization of education as a social necessity and therefore the right of all. The extension of education in turn results in the segregation and categorization of young people thus creating the social category "youth" in its contemporary sense and expanding its upper limit. In terms of age, it seems convenient to think of childhood as ending at age thirteen and therefore youth defined becomes persons aged thirteen or older who have not yet entered the labor force as full-time participants.[46]

Historically, the development of education in Canada has been substantial but uneven over time and between educational levels.[47] In the course of the nineteenth century the idea that education was primarily a concern of church and home, available to those who had both the time and the resources, was supplanted by public involvement with taxation to support schools and teacher training, and compulsory attendance laws.

> Important changes occurred also in the actual lives of children. The experience of apprenticeship or service seems to have been available to or desired by proportionately fewer and fewer boys and girls, and, as a result, in urban centres especially, a pool of idle youth came into being. As industrialization progressed in the second half of the century, work in mills and

> other manufacturing establishments began to claim some of the young, some children still went into service, some continued the work of helping on the farm....But increasingly schooling seems to have replaced apprenticeship, service or work as both the ideal and the actual occupation of most children.[48]

The first act to provide free education was passed in Prince Edward Island in 1852, the second in Nova Scotia in 1864 with New Brunswick following in 1871. After confederation, other provinces proceeded with the development of public education systems, a model that was followed by the new provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta in 1905.[49]

> Even if they attended somewhat erratically, or did not attend for the extended number of years that became common in the twentieth century, it can be said that public schooling had become the uniform experience of the vast majority of children in Canada by 1900.[50]

But the record of development in Canadian education seems to have tapered off by 1920. The movement for universal literacy and elementary education that characterized the last century failed to similarly establish secondary education and the majority of young people left school for the labor force at an early age. High school education remained a prerogative of an elite.[51] As late as 1951-52, only 46 per cent of young people in Canada between the ages of 14 and 17 were enrolled in secondary school.[52]

Youth as a social and cultural category delimited by the biological fact of puberty and the end of dependency through self-sufficient participation in the labor force evolved, then, over a long period of time. But youth as part of the contemporary reality of Canadian society is a much more recent creation. In a very real way, youth as we currently know it in Canada has been in existence less than a quarter-century.

The emergence of youth as we know it may be attributed to two sets of variables, changes in education values and objectives and demographic changes. By the 1950s it was becoming apparent that the ever-increasing sophistication required to function in Canada's industrial economy entailed longer and longer periods of training. A higher level of educational attainment was demanded not only for the mastery of specific skills but also because a sound basic education is a necessity for retraining that may be required at a later date. The progression in education values that this realization precipitated is reflected in a government publication of the Centennial year.

> The Canadian educational scene in the mid-1960s continues to be dominated by the need for the development of ever greater knowledge, skills, understanding and appreciation among the nation's youth in order to prepare them, individually and as a community, for the challenges they are expected to face in the future. It is widely recognized that this need should be met not only by developing the [academic] elite...but also by extending the base to include all young persons, whatever their abilities and aptitudes and whatever their social circumstances and financial resources.[53]

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, secondary school enrolments consequently increased sharply. By 1965-66, fully 80 per cent of young people between the ages of 14 and 17 were attending school and the rate projected for 1975-76 was 94 percent.[54] Post-secondary enrolments also rose significantly from 9.7 per cent of the 18 to 24 age group in 1961 to 28.9 per cent in 1970-71.[55] A consequence of this change has been the extension of dependency among young people for longer periods, and, over the past two decades, the concomitant extension of the segregation and categorization to include nearly all young persons.

Compounding this dramatic social emergence of youth has been an equally significant demographic trend, the quantitative growth of young persons in the population. In the 1960s and early '70s, the postwar babyboom moved through the appropriate age-categories. At the same time as the numbers of youth were increasing by social definition through increasing educational participation, their numbers, as shown in Table 3:2, were expanding more rapidly than the population as a whole.

Table 3:2. The Growth of Youth as a Sector of the Canadian Population 1961-71.[56]

Year	Total Population	Population Aged 15 - 24 Number	Percentage of Total
1961	18,238,000	2,616,000	14.3
1963	18,896,000	2,856,000	15.1
1966	20,015,000	3,299,000	16.5
1969	21,061,000	3,777,000	17.9
1971	21,568,000	4,004,000	18.6

In a classic article written in the late 1940s, Ruth Benedict identified three main themes of cultural discontinuity characterizing the transition from childhood to adulthood in industrial societies: (1) responsible versus nonresponsible roles; (2) dominance versus submission; and (3) contrasting sex roles.[57] In these areas, the transition for young people is often difficult and marked by stress.

In less complex societies, children learn at an early age to participate in a simple way in the activities of their parents and neighbors. In many non-industrial societies, the dominance of elders is less pronounced where parents and children may use the same form of address and share a reciprocal banter. Finally, many non-industrial societies do not sharply differentiate sex roles and the emerging sexuality of the child is more taken for granted with adjustments in approved sexual behavior being made as the child grows older.

In industrial societies, and particularly in Canada and the United

States, a different set of cultural conditions obtain. Responsible behavior is not expected until towards the end of adolescence and submission to elders is characteristically enforced until the end of dependence. Despite some recent softening, young people are still expected to take only the boy or girl role without appropriating the behavior of the other. And additionally, the formal expectations require that young people refrain from sexual activity and remain chaste despite their psycho-sexual maturity until marriage when they are expected to be sexually compatible partners. The fundamental discontinuity occurs when the child eventually becomes an independent, responsible adult, typically assuming the Father or Mother role. This change involves stressful resocialization which is frequently accompanied by both confusion and embarrassment.

Essential to the appreciation of the social and cultural realities of youth is, however, the understanding that adolescence is marked by a great deal of anticipatory socialization.[58] The transition from child to adult status is not marked by an abrupt change but rather a gradual subjective appropriation of adult roles in the context of a dominant and often coercive social reality which largely upholds expectations derivative of the child-norms. The status of youth is a marginal status which weakens the plausibility structures of both child and adult realities.

The fundamental point of noting Benedict's observation of cultural discontinuities is not simply to raise the issue of their relevance to an analysis of Canadian society. It is rather to take notice of the fact that these discontinuities are focused in the socially defined transitional period of youth and, completing the circle, the consequent experience of marginality, stress, and ambiguous and conflicting plausibility structures have recently been extended to virtually all young people for a significantly lengthened time period.

That such a reality exists is in principle, undeniable. However, the actual realities shared and experienced by individuals are situation-specific and variable. It is therefore consistent with both the previous discussion of anomie and the consideration of the social category, youth, to suggest that for contemporary Canadian young people, any one of the four qualities of social and cultural conditions could obtain. Abstract manipulation of the concepts yields the following perspectives.

In her analysis, Benedict did not imply that industrial society was without mechanisms of successful cultural conditioning.[59] Significant cultural discontinuities may exist but these are not necessarily apprehended as such. The apparently antithetical statuses may be integrated within a reality definition of growth and development which inclusively legitimates varying modes of social participation. Such a reality and plausibility structure would be apprehended as cultural unity. Here, discontinuities, however appealing analytically, would simply not be real.

A second plausible perspective suggests a reality in which discontinuities are present but ephemeral. Relativizing definitions and legitimations would incorporate such conflicts while denying them significance. To the extent that the plausibility structure is convincing, the reality would be apprehended as having the quality of pluralistic value disagreements.

Where the plausibility structure of child reality has weakened as a function of anticipatory socialization to the point where it is no longer sufficiently convincing and to the extent that adult realities are available, qualities of social and cultural anomie may exist. Two analytical forms may be indicated.

The incipient collapse of the child reality and the objectively unavailable adult reality would leave some young people without a social world to inhabit. As previously noted, this would constitute an intolerable, if not impossible situation. One resolution lies in the collective externalizations of similarly affected individuals which would objectivate an alternative reality, a youth nomos.[60] To the extent that a segregated youth reality does emerge with attendant plausibility structures, interaction between young people and adults can assume problematic dimensions. The character and extent of such disruption to interaction between sub-groups would, of course, relate to the degree of separation in the realities. However, generically it may be said that social and cultural conditions of this form would include qualities of subcultural anomie.

Alternatively, the assumption of a separate and distinct youth society may be questioned in several respects. In effect, the youth culture may be less of a unity or systemic whole and more of a conceptual umbrella under which are sheltered a great variety of discrete, diverse, unrelated and often conflicting behaviors and realities. The qualities of innovativeness and impermanence which characterize much of youth phenomena might be interpreted as ad hoc adjustments to weakening plausibility structures and anomie. Such adjustments, by their nature, further undermine the efficacy of existing plausibility structures. This character of social and cultural conditions is full anomie.

It is to be emphasized that these speculations are greatly complicated by the location of youth phenomena squarely in the complex reality that is Canadian society. These abstract perspectives do not appreciate the implications of an equally variable context.

Nonetheless, the question of qualities of socio-cultural anomie as apprehended by young people and the issue of the nature of youth adjustments to these qualities remain a meaningful problem for empirical investigation.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND HYPOTHESES

Statement of Objectives

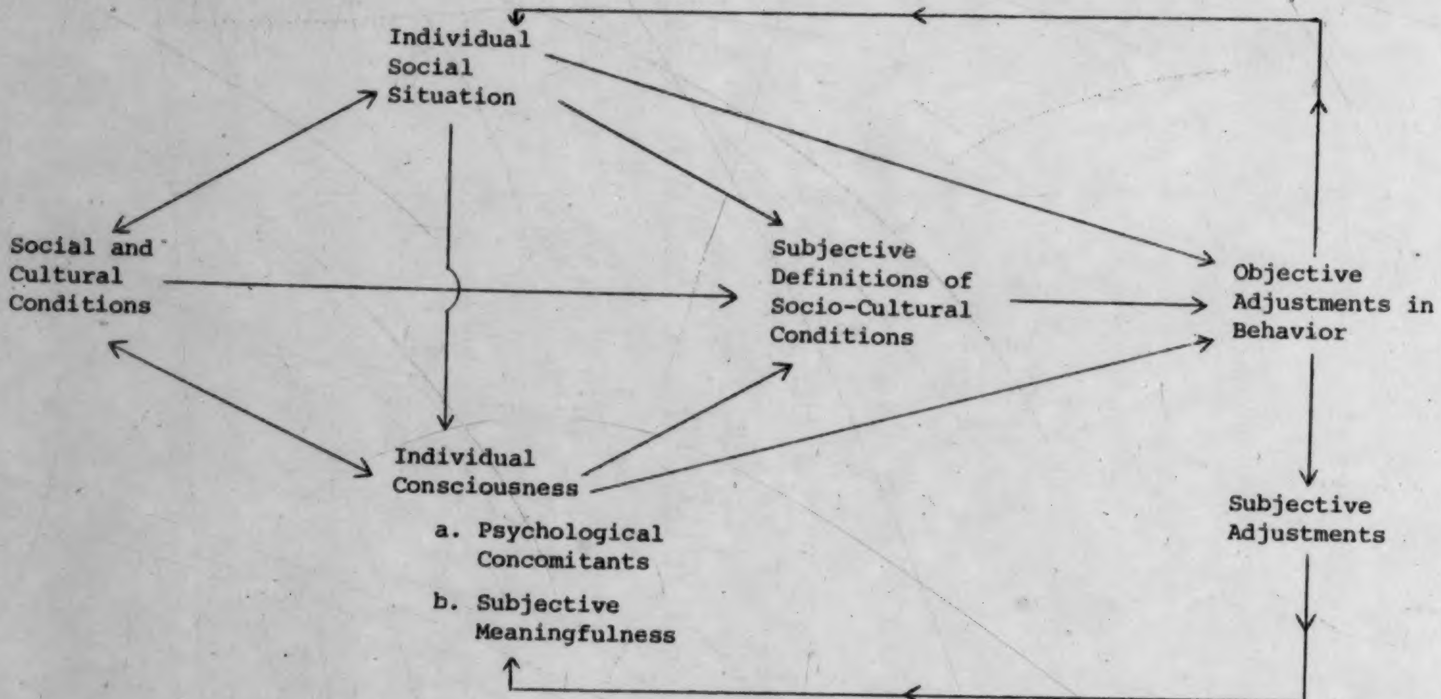
The broad purpose of the research that is reported in subsequent chapters is to inquire into the nature and consequences of the subjective definitions of socio-cultural conditions as apprehended by a sample of young people. These are to be interpreted in terms of the four qualities of objective conditions formally defined earlier in this chapter.[61]

Figure 3:1 indicates in schematic form the relationship between the several concepts from the theoretical framework. The specific objectives of this research may be understood as an investigation of the patterning and substantive character of the relationships illustrated in the figure. The questions for the study are as follows.

Objective 1. What is the nature of the subjective definitions of social and cultural conditions as held by young people? How do young people apprehend the variable qualities of cultural unity, pluralistic value disagreements, subcultural anomie and full anomie.

Objective 2. What is the relation between indicators of individual social situations and subjective definitions of objective conditions?

Figure 3:1. The Conceptual Schema


Individual Social Situation
Social and Cultural Conditions
Subjective Definitions of Socio-Cultural Conditions
Objective Adjustments in Behavior
Individual Consciousness
a. Psychological Concomitants
b. Subjective Meaningfulness
Subjective Adjustments

The indicators to be specifically considered include age, place of birth and place of residence, student and employment statuses, personal finances, religious preference, ethnicity, parental socio-economic status, and a range of family variables including family size and birth order, status of natural parents, independence of the family, and internal family relations.

Objective 3. *What is the relation between psychological concomitants to social and cultural conditions mediated by individual social situation and the resulting definitions of socio-cultural conditions?* The psychological concomitants are understood in terms of two existing measures of personal despair which, in the literature reviewed in chapter II, are interpreted as being correlated to anomic social conditions. The tests are Srole's measure of "anomia" and Rosenberg's "misanthropy" scale.[62]

Objective 4. *What are the substantive variations in objective adjustments as related to different definitions of socio-cultural conditions?* Of the near-infinite range of possible variables to be considered among objective adjustments in behavior, three salient aspects have been selected. These include, (1) educational participation, the principal instrumental activity of young people, (2) peer relations and social participation, expressive activity of youth, and (3) delinquency and deviation, included here because of its long representation in anomie research.

Objective 5. *What is the effect on the relation between subjective definitions of socio-cultural conditions and objective adjustments when important indicators of individual social situation and psychological concomitants are controlled?* This is a subsidiary objective which is intended as amplification of the meanings derived by objective 4.

Objective 6. What is the relation between subjective definitions of socio-cultural conditions and subjective adjustments? As indicated in the discussion of the theoretical framework, subjective adjustment will be interpreted in terms of two variables, hope and discipline.

Objective 7. What is the relation between objective and subjective adjustments to qualities of socio-cultural anomie? What is the characteristic patterning and substantive character of the various resolutions of the need for subjective meaningfulness in individual consciousness?

Two further questions incorporate the concluding objectives of the study.

Objective 8. Does the schema have valid potential as a general explanation of youth phenomena? Is this approach a useful means of considering the full range of diverse, complex and seeming incongruous youth behavior within a single explanatory framework or does the data suggest that the number of partial theories are yet more efficient?

Objective 9. What does this study suggest in regard to the existing literature? Specifically, what are the implications of this research for previous enquiry into the relation between social and cultural anomie and behavior?

Statement of Hypotheses

Prior to their presentation, the hypotheses which have directed this research require some qualification. First, the theory from which major hypotheses are derived rests on the fundamental notion of a dialectic process relating subjective and social realities. The derivation of hypotheses is thereby complicated by the understanding of relationships based on mutual or reciprocal causation with no indication of direction. The analogue is the dilemma encountered when one attempts to assign primacy after noting a relationship between chickens and eggs. The resolution --although not solution-- of the problem incorporated in the hypotheses follows the approach of Blalock and Rosenberg.[63] In the understanding that two variables cannot simultaneously be the cause of each other, relationships having the appearance of dialectic mutuality are interpreted as reciprocating asymmetry of feedback. For a "slice-of-time" study such as the present research, this permits the determination of direction on the criteria of logic and convenience. However, to the extent that the theory is distorted in this way, the hypotheses must be regarded as representational and not definitive.

The second caveat involves the substantive nature of the hypotheses. An extensive review of the literature failed to uncover empirical studies which either operationalized Berger's theory or employed a similar conceptualization of anomie. Thus, in part, this study is exploratory and descriptive. One concern in the design of the research and the analysis of the data is for the formulation of more narrowly specific causal hypotheses to guide subsequent inquiry. In addition, the comparatively broad scope of the present approach is intended to develop a base of data describing relationships between a wide range of objective variables representing the theoretical constructions.

By intention, the present investigations constitute only a preliminary consideration of the broad research purpose. Notwithstanding these constraints, and considering unguided serendipity the less attractive alternative, certain hypotheses were advanced.

Two forms of hypotheses are therefore presented for testing. The first form constitutes general hypotheses which have been derived from the theory and provide for a preliminary consideration of the validity of the conceptual approach. The second form of the hypotheses provide for the testing of substantive specification. These substantive hypotheses have been primarily derived from the existing literature. Their testing will direct the course of the analysis and provide an empirical basis for the consideration of previous research and conceptualization.

The review of the literature has suggested that a generalized definition of cultural unity or pluralistic value disagreement is more likely to be associated with interaction leading to successful goal attainment. Conversely, individual social situations involving less successful interactions are likely to be more characteristically associated with generalized definitions of value conflicts and concomitant personal demoralization. Following this Durkheimian theme, subjective definitions of subcultural or full anomie can be expected to be more closely associated with lower socio-economic status, the less adequately educated, or, for example, social situations which are comparatively lacking of close supportive, primary relationships.

General Hypothesis 1. There will be significant association between indicators of individual social situation and definitions of socio-cultural conditions. Substantive: Definitions of subcultural and full anomie will be significantly associated with individual social situations characterized by the following indicators (predicted order of decreasing saliency), (1) lower parental socio-economic status, (2) relative lack of family solidarity, (3) less personal income, (4) relatively greater age, (5) non-matriculation status, (6) fewer group memberships, (7) non-practising or lack of religious preference, and (8) residence other than with parental family.

General Hypothesis 2. Measures of association between indicators of individual social situation and definitions of socio-cultural conditions may be reduced but will not be eliminated by controls for the psychological concomitants, anomia and misanthropy.

General Hypothesis 3. There will be significant associations between definitions of socio-cultural conditions and indicators of objective adjustment in behavior. *Specification* (A.) Educational Participation: Definitions of subcultural and full anomie will be significantly associated with indicators of (1) lower motivation for grades, (2) lack of orientation towards typical study habits, (3) negative education values, (4) deviation from school conduct norms, (5) lower academic standing, and (6) less clearly defined career goals. *Specification* (B.) Peer Relations and Social Participation: Definitions of subcultural and full anomie will be significantly associated with greater peer orientation as indicated by lower scores for a measure of peer independence, and by such indicators as reported shared visiting behavior with friends and number of reported close friends. Lower social participation will be associated with these subjective definitions as indicated by frequency and type of formal group participation and extracurricular school activity. *Specification* (C.) Self-Reported Delinquency and Deviation. Definitions of subcultural and full anomie will be significantly associated with higher rates of self-reported delinquencies and deviation.

General Hypothesis 5. Indicators of subjective adjustment, hope and discipline, will be found to vary in the sample as a function of indicators of social situations and behavior adjustments. Generally, more positive subjective adjustments will be associated with supportive interpersonal relations and successful social participation. *Specification*: Indicators of greater subjective meaningfulness will be significantly associated with reported (1) closer family relations, (2) more typical study habits and greater motivation for grades, (3) more positive educational values and higher academic standing, (4) more clearly defined career plans, (5) greater conformity with school conduct norms, (6) greater peer independence, and (7) less self-reported delinquency and deviation.

General Hypothesis 6. Lower scores for subjective meaningfulness as indicated by measures of hope and discipline will be significantly associated with subjective definitions of socio-cultural conditions as subcultural or full anomie.

FOOTNOTES

1. Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*, *op. cit.*, p.103.

2. Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion*, *op. cit*. Berger and Luckmann, *op. cit*.

3. Of the many writings where Berger advances his social dialectic, perhaps the most succinct and complete expression is to be found in *The Sacred Canopy*, *op. cit*. It is this source which is principally used here.

4. *Ibid.*, p.4.

5. *Ibid*.

6. *Ibid.*, p.6.

7. These meanings collectively are, of course, culture. Of the relationship between society and culture, Berger notes: "However, while society appears as but an aspect of culture, it occupies a privileged position among man's cultural formations. This is due to yet another basic anthropological fact, namely the essential sociality of man.... Not only is the individual's participation in a culture contingent upon a social process (namely, the process called socialization), but his continuing cultural existence depends upon the maintenance of specific social arrangements. Society, therefore, is not only an outcome of culture, but a necessary condition of the latter. Society, structures, distributes, and co-ordinates the world building activities of men. And only in society can the products of those activities persist over time." *Ibid*. p.7.

8. *Ibid.*, p.11.

9. *Ibid.*, p.12.

10. *Ibid.*, p.15.

11. *Ibid.*, p.16.

12. *Ibid.*, pp.19-21.

13. *Ibid.*, p.29.

14. Berger and Luckmann, *op. cit.*, p.92.

15. *Cf. Ibid.*, pp.94-104; Berger, *op. cit.*, pp.30-51.

16. *Ibid.*, p.32. One historically important example of this level is religious legitimation which, through a process of signification appealing to a sacred cosmos, remove ultimate meanings beyond the social experience of man and thus allow an interpretation of the institutional order which hides, as much as possible, its constructed character.

    An important notion in this regard, for sociology, is the concept of reification, the process by which the social order comes to be taken for a reality other than what it is. Reification, by conferring on society the status of an independent variable, obscures or denies man's responsibility for his social order. Reification provides for very effective legitimation but is alienating for the individual to the extent that he is denied consciousness of his true relationship to social reality. *Cf.* Peter L. Berger and Stanley Pullberg, "Reification and the Sociological Critique of Consciousness," *History and Theory*, vol. 4, April 1965. pp.196-213; P. L. Berger and S. Pullberg, "The Concept of Reification," *New Left Review*, no. 35, 1966. pp.56-71.

17. Berger, *op. cit.*, p.24. (Italics added.)

18. *Ibid.*, p.23.

19. Peter L. Berger, *A Rumor of Angels: Modern Society and the Rediscovery of the Supernatural*, Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1970. pp.36-8.; *Cf.* Berger, *op. cit.*, pp.127-53.

20. Berger and Luckmann, *op. cit.*, p.103.

21. J. Milton Yinger, "On Anomie," *op. cit.*, p.158.

22. As defined here, the concept is closer to Durkheim than to Merton's more narrow conceptualization of anomie as the disjunction between cultural goals and access to institutionalized means. *Cf.* chapter II, "The Concept of Anomie."

23. This observation is not a further "dehumanization" of the concept of anomie. (*Cf*. Horton, *op*. *cit*.) Rather the approach here simply differentiates the separate purposes of descriptive sociological conceptualization and moral judgment. The sociologist can no more abdicate his responsibility to provide informed comment on social conditions than fail to distinguish his cognitive and normative observations.

24. This understanding and the following owe much to Yinger, "On Anomie," *op*. *cit*.

25. The sociology of Canadian society at the present time is virtually the study of change and pluralism. A few good representative sources in this regard would be: Bernard Blishen, *et al*., *Canadian Society: Sociological Perspectives*, Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1968.; Richard J. Ossenberg (ed.), *Canadian Society: Pluralism Change and Conflict*, Scarborough, Ont.: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1971.; Harry Hiller, *Canadian Society: A Sociological Analysis*, Scarborough, Ont. Prentice-Hall of Canada, 1976.; Dennis Forcese and Stephen Richer *Issues in Canadian Society*, Scarborough, Ont.: Prentice-Hall of Canada, 1975.; Samuel D. Clark, *Canadian Society in Historical Perspective*, Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1976.; Samuel D. Clark, *et al*., *Prophecy and Protest: Social Movements in Twentieth Century Canada*, Toronto: Gage Educational Publishing Ltd., 1975.

26. Ossenberg, *op*. *cit*., p.124.

27. Berger, *A Rumor of Angels*, *op*. *cit*., p.44.

28. *Cf*. Harry M. Johnson, *Sociology: A Systematic Introduction*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1960. pp.95-9.

29. Yinger, *op*. *cit*., p.162.

30. *Ibid*.

31. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, *op*. *cit*., p.180.

32. Adapted from Yinger, *op*. *cit*., p.162.

33. Consciousness here does not refer to ideas, theories, or sophisticated constructions of meaning. Rather, the consciousness of everyday life is the web of meanings that allow the individual to navigate his way though the ordinary events and encounters of his life with others. In this regard, the consciousness of everyday life is pretheoretical consciousness. *Cf*. Berger, *et al*., *The Homeless Mind*., *op*. *cit*., especially pp.3-20.

34. *Ibid*., pp.195-6.

35. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy*, *op*. *cit*., p.22.

36. *Ibid*.

37. Merton, *op. cit.*

38. *Cf.* Roszak, *op. cit.*; Kenneth Westhues, "Inter-Generational Conflict in the Sixties," in S. D. Clark, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp.387-408.; John R. Howard, *The Cutting Edge: Social Movements and Social Change in America*, Philadelphia, Pa.: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1974. pp.163-218; David Gottlieb, *Youth in Contemporary Society*, *op. cit.*

39. James S. Coleman, *The Adolescent Society*, New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961. *Cf.* F. Musgrove, *Youth and the Social Order*, Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1965.

40. Albert K. Cohen, *Delinquent Boys*, *op. cit.*; Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin, *Delinquency and Opportunity*, New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1960.

41. Eigil Pedersen and Kenneth Etheridge, "Conformity and Deviant Behavior in High School: The Merton Typology Adapted to an Educational Context," *The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, vol. 7, February 1970. pp.70-82.

42. *Cf.* Philip Aries, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962.; Gerhard Lenski, *Power and Privilege: A Theory of Stratification*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966.; Richard Flacks, *Youth and Social Change*, Chicago: Markham Publishing Co., 1971.

43. Aries, *op. cit.*

44. Henry Campbell Black, *Black's Law Dictionary*, St. Paul, Minn.: West Publishing Co., 1951. p.71.

45. Lenski, *op. cit.*, p.407.

46. Flacks, *op. cit.*, pp.9-10.

47. Economic Council of Canada, *Sixth Annual Review*, Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1969. pp.123-38.

48. Alison L. Prentice and Susan E. Houston, *Family, School and Society in Nineteenth Century Canada*, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1975. pp.1-2.

49. J. A. Lower, *Canada: An Outline History*, Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1966. pp.86-7.

50. Prentice and Houston, *op. cit.*

51. Gordon W. Bertram, "Education and Canada's Future Economic Growth," in B. Y. Card, (ed.), *Trends and Change in Canadian Society: Their Challenge to Canadian Youth*, Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1968. p.122.

52. Economic Council of Canada, *op. cit.*, p.126.

53. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Canada Year Book* 1967, Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1967. p.337.

54. Economic Council of Canada, *op. cit.*, p.126.

55. Jane Synge, "The Sociology of Canadian Education," in G. N. Ramu and Stuart D. Johnson, *Introduction to Canadian Society: Sociological Analysis*, Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1976. p.405.

56. Westhues, *op. cit.*, p.399.

57. Ruth Benedict, "Continuities and Discontinuities in Cultural Conditioning," in Clyde Kluckhohn and Henry A. Murray (eds.), *Personality in Nature, Society and Culture*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948. pp.414-423.

58. Ernest Q. Campbell, "Adolescent Socialization," in David A. Goslin (ed.), *Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research*, Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1969. pp.821-859.

59. Benedict, *op. cit.*

60. It is important here not to over-emphasize the idea of a distinctive and separate youth culture or adolescent society. It is just such over-emphasis which has discredited Coleman's study (*op. cit.*). The literature of empirical research on youth is nearly unanimous on one point, most young people agree with and share the values of their parents.

61. Operational definitions of these and other concepts employed in this section will be discussed in chapter IV.

62. Srole, "Social Integration and Certain Corollaries," *op. cit.*; Morris Rosenberg, "Misanthropy and Political Ideology," *American Sociological Review*, vol. 21, December 1956. pp.690-5.

63. *Cf.* Hubert M. Blalock, *Causal Inference in Nonexperimental Research*, Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1961. pp.56-7; Morris Rosenberg, *The Logic of Survey Analysis*, New York: Basic Books, 1968. pp.8-9.

Chapter IV

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

INTRODUCTION

The conceptualization and methodological approach of the present research originated as a response to involvement in the Youth Culture Studies sponsored by the Department of National Health and Welfare during the May-September periods of 1971 and 1972.[1] In addition, preliminary development of some of the measurement scales was incorporated into and based on some of the 1972 efforts. Work on the development of the study began again in earnest in the late spring of 1975 with the field work being carried out in the spring of 1976.

In this chapter, the design of the study and actual research procedures are reported. Consideration is given to the general research design, sampling procedures, data collection methods, and the strategies and procedures of the analysis. Separate sections of the chapter are devoted to the nature and development of the measures used in the study and to a description of the sample.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND PROCEDURES

The General Approach to the Study

As indicated in the previous chapter, the principal purpose of the study is to carry out a preliminary testing of the new formulation of the theory of anomie derived principally from the work of Peter Berger. The decision to focus this study on youth involved a number of considerations in addition to the fact that the conceptual approach originated within the Youth Culture Study. First, the study of youth is topical and enjoys a good deal of current interest. Second, as suggested in chapter III a study of young people would provide a good test of the theory, and finally, the area of study had constituted the greater part of the writer's research experience and was both familiar and of interest.[2]

Within the larger social category of youth, the study was further focused on young people of high school age. This decision was based on two factors, the consideration that youth phenomena would be somewhat ambiguous in age categories closer to puberty and to adult status where some overlap with child and adult realities is encountered, and second, the realization that this decision would greatly simplify sampling procedures.

Consideration of the large number of variables to be considered by multivariate analysis led to the original intention of conducting survey research involving the administration of a suitable questionnaire to a sufficiently large sample of high school aged young people.

The initial research design therefore proposed the administration of a questionnaire to the greatest possible number of high school students in Red Deer and Central Alberta. This approach presumed the co-operation of the school boards for distribution of the questionnaires in the schools. Preliminary discussions with public and separate school board officials took place in the fall of 1975 and a formal research proposal and draft of the questionnaire were presented to the school boards in November. Questions were raised about the suitability and propriety of some of the questionnaire items, particularly indicators of delinquency and deviation, and the matter was referred to a committee of the school superintendents, principals of the public and separate high schools and the writer with direction to produce a revision of the questionnaire that would be acceptable to the boards. At this time it appeared that the school boards were sympathetic and supportive to the study and its goals but sensitive to possible public and parental reaction.

The subsequent meeting of the committee identified three difficulties with this approach. First, because of the time-tabling patterns in the schools, total or near total distribution of the questionnaires could not be attained. Best estimates indicated that optimal coverage would be in the range of 50 to 60 per cent of the population and that almost no control of the sampling selection would be possible. Second, since the distribution of the questionnaire in the classroom would assign ultimate responsibility to the respective school board, efforts were directed toward developing a form that would be acceptable to the participating boards. Even before the "sensitive" items were considered, these discussions produced the realization that even though we might jointly labor to the length of our endurance, in the end any form of the questionnaire that would be acceptable to the board would be insensitive to and inadequate for the needs of the research design, and vice versa. Finally, it was indicated that the administration of the questionnaire would require the approval in advance of all affected constituencies, the board, school administrations, teachers, students and parents. This caveat would necessitate not only the wide disclosure of the content of the instrument prior to its administration but would also set back the data collection until April, 1976 at the earliest.

These problems, sampling limitations, lack of questionnaire control, premature disclosure of content, and time delays, quickly established the futility of the approach being considered and the meetings were adjourned. The study would have to be either redesigned or abandoned.

Experience with the referral committee indicated that if the study was to proceed, direct contact with potential respondents was required and approaches employing mailed questionnaires and interviews were considered. The use of mailed questionnaires was rejected on the basis of the well-known response problems which would be compounded in this instance by the length of the questionnaire, and because this approach provided no control over response-set. Attention was therefore given to interview techniques.

The apparent limitation to an interview approach was that it would be more complicated and time-consuming as well as considerably more expensive. Given the financial and time constraints of the study, these limitations would necessitate a significant reduction in the size of the sample thereby creating problems for the analysis. However, the interview approach would allow probing the subjective understandings of respondents and the collection of qualitative data. On balance, the gains from subjective responses were considered to mitigate the problems of limited partialing of the sample in the analysis. The fortuitousness of this decision was later realized in the analysis of subjective definitions of socio-cultural conditions, reported in the next chapter. Also there were few other effective alternatives.

In early January, the referral committee was appraised of the revisions in the research design. These were favorably received and attention was focused on questions of sampling. It was suggested to the committee that a sample could be drawn from lists of students supplied by the school boards. This was agreed to on the condition that

Board-approved letters be first sent to both students selected and their parents describing the study along with letters from the school administrations. A resolution to this effect was submitted by the committee to the Red Deer Public School Board for consideration at its January meeting. At that time, principally because of the "sensitivity" of some of the items, the Board rejected the compromise and severed all connection between the public high school and the study. Finally, before the issue was allowed to die, a local newspaper cheered the Board for its courageous stand.

Since the public high school included the majority of the population, discussions with the Separate School Board were discontinued and no approach was made to the surrounding counties. Appendix A presents some of the correspondence with the Public School Board and the newspaper editorial.

The collapse of the negotiated compromise greatly complicated the problem of sample selection while at the same time hardening the resolve that the study would be conducted.[3]

The Sampling Procedure

Neither school published a student directory nor were alternative listings of young people otherwise available in the community. Neither sufficient time nor resources were available to conduct a census and a random survey of households for appropriate respondents was awkward and problematic.

The one public listing of high school students available was represented by the school yearbooks of the previous year. The limitations in this list are apparent. Being a year old, the yearbook would not include the current freshman class while the senior class would be largely dispersed to post-secondary institutions and the labor market. Further, family mobility during the year could remove some of those listed while adding others not listed to the student body. Finally, with no opportunity to cross reference school records, it could not be assumed that the yearbook lists were complete nor could the degree of student representation be estimated. The only recommending factor was that the yearbooks were the one list that was available. A marginal gain was that students who had dropped out of school since the yearbooks were compiled would be included.

Because there were no other alternatives, the yearbook lists were used in defining a population for the study. Because of the limitations to these lists, the inference of findings to the current body of high school students is exceedingly problematic.

Two additional considerations further narrowed the definition of the population. First, the earlier decision to limit possible intervening variables by restricting the study to the high school age group was reaffirmed. Thus only the lists of Grade X and XI students, presumably students to be largely found in Grades XI or XII this year, were employed. Further, because the sex of the respondent was expected to be a significant variable and because the smaller sample necessitated by the adoption of interview methods of data collection would impose limits to the partialing of the sample for the analysis, only male students were to be included.

The population thus defined is any male person currently resident in the Red Deer area and listed in the yearbook of either the public high school or the separate collegiate as having been a student in either grades X or XI during the 1974-75 adacemic year. As indicated by, table 4:1, the lists suggested a total population of 523 potential respondents minus an unknown factor for individuals who had moved from the area during the year.

Considerations for the size of the sample were greatly influenced by financial and time constraints. The sample size of eighty respondents falls short of the requirements for statistical inference with an acceptable margin of error. However, the restricted nature of the population questions the need for such inferential power.

On balance, the sample size is convenient; it is sufficiently large to permit the planned analysis, it is affordable, it could be achieved in the time available, and the size permits full consideration of qualitative as well as quantitative data. While a sample of eighty is considered here sufficient to permit preliminary examination of the hypotheses, it does not allow generalizations on the population. Any findings can thus be said with confidence to characterize the sample only.

Fifty-seven per cent of the names on the full list were names of Grade X students and 43 per cent Grade XI students. However, a decision was made to select 40 names (50 per cent) from each group to insure representation from each grade (and presumably, age) category. Finally, each grade category was stratified by school and sampled proportionately. This assures representativeness with respect to another significant variable, public/separate school attendance. The list was thus divided and names numbered. Both the sample and a back-up sample were then selected by the use of a table of random numbers. The sample is thus a two-stage random sample, stratified and proportionately sampled within each stage. The sample is indicated in table 4:1.

Table 4:1. Population, Sampling Rates, and Sample Size.

Grade Category	Population Number	Population Percentage	Sample Number	Sample Percentage
Grade X -Public	242	81 p.c.	32	80 p.c.
Grade X -Separate	58	19 p.c.	8	20 p.c.
Grade X -TOTALS	300	100 p.c.	40	100 p.c.
Grade XI -Public	184	83 p.c.	33	83 p.c.
Grade XI -Separate	39	17 p.c.	7	17 p.c.
Grade XI -TOTALS	223	100 p.c.	40	100 p.c.

Population Total 523 Sample Total 80

Once the names of potential respondents had been selected, the task of determining addresses and phone numbers began. This was largely accomplished by use of the telephone directory. A student worker was hired for this tedious process. All listings of surnames similar to the sample names were called until the home of the potential respondent was reached. The worker would then read a prepared statement identifying the study and indicating the purpose of the call as being to confirm the address so that proper information could be mailed. All Red Deer city listings were checked first then surrounding areas. If this procedure failed to locate the individual, the name was then given to student workers in the high schools to either locate the individual or confirm that the person was no longer in the Red Deer area. This procedure was followed initially for the sample and then for the back-up sample as required.

Data Collection

Once sufficient persons had been located to enable interviewing to begin, the first sets of letters were mailed and interview appointments set up. The first letters were mailed on March 19 and the first interviews took place on March 24. Sample identification continued concurrent with the interviewing so that there would be a minimal delay between telephone contact and receipt of subsequent information.

Mindful of the earlier concerns about the nature of the study raised by the school boards and newspaper and wishing to avoid any possible adverse public reactions until at least the interviewing was complete, and at the same time wanting to achieve the best possible response rate, careful consideration was given to the form of initial contact. The telephone contact was kept brief and to the point and inquiries were referred to the mailing to be received shortly. Carefully worded letters were drawn up explaining the study and requesting participation. These were mailed to potential respondents along with a similarly worded letter which was sent to the parents. In both mailings, letters of endorsement from the Chairman of the Department of Sociology and a brochure describing the study were included. A telephone number was included in the event that additional information was desired at that time. The timing was such that an interviewer usually called to arrange an interview within two or three days of the letter having been received. The contents of the letters and the brochure are reproduced in Appendix B.

The efforts to locate persons named to the sample were successful in locating about four of every five names drawn. The mailings produced a positive response and interviewers were able to complete 87 per cent of their contacts. This information is provided in detail in Table 4:2.

Table 4:2. Sample Derivation and Interview Completion Rate.

Sample List	Names Drawn	Number Not Located*	Number Contacted	Number Refused	Number Completed
	N	N (%)	N	N (%)	N (%)
Pub. X	46	12 (26)	34	2 (04)	32 (96)
Sep. X	12	1 (08)	11	3 (27)	8 (73)
Pub. XI	48	10 (21)	38	5 (13)	33 (87)
Sep. XI	11	2 (18)	9	2 (22)	7 (78)
TOTALS	117	25 (21)	92	12 (13)	80 (87)

* All but three individuals "not located" were subsequently determined to have moved. The remainder might still have been residing in Red Deer but this could not be confirmed in two cases. One individual was thought to be living in Red Deer but had left both home and school and could not be found.

The table indicates that the greater proportion of names selected for which persons could not be located were drawn from the public high school lists while the greater refusal rates were encountered among students from the separate high school. These areas of possible bias further indicate the problematic character of inference from the data to the population.

One advantage enjoyed by the study was the availability of six professionally trained, highly skilled interviewers who assisted in the data collection.[5] Their skills, ranging from an M.B.A. with market research training to a Ph.D. in Psychology, allowed interviewer-training to proceed comparatively quickly with orientation to the interview strategies and familiarization with the instruments, and, in large measure, accounted for the consistently high standard of the data collection process. Of the eighty interviews, the hired interviewers conducted 63, an average of ten-and-a-half apiece, while the writer conducted the remaining seventeen.

The data collection instruments consisted of an interview schedule and five questionnaires. The questionnaires were administered at regular points through the interview. The ordering of the items within the interview was designed to facilitate the establishment of rapport and encourage response. Given the willingness and co-operation of the respondents, the skills of the interviewers, and the character and nature of the instruments are reproduced in Appendix C and are discussed in more detail in the next section of this chapter.

With very few exceptions, the interviews took place privately, in the respondents home. Before the interview began, the respondent was once again appraised of the purposes of the research and the uses to which the data would be put. In addition, the confidentiality of the data was explained and respondents were informed of their right to refuse to answer any question. Respondents were also encouraged to interrupt the interview at any time if they had questions of their own. From the perspective of the respondents, two important promises were given, first, that all respondents would receive a summary of the findings, and second, that the findings of the study would be made public.

The interview proper averaged ninety minutes in length and was characteristically followed by an informal conversation between the interviewer and the respondent or between the interviewer, the respondent and the respondent's parents, discussing the issues raised by the interview. This informal conversation lasted anywhere from ten minutes to two hours and interviewers kept notes of any salient points or observations raised for consideration in the analysis and interpretation of the data.

Interviewers were responsible for checking the instruments for completeness prior to leaving the respondent and the several forms were once again checked in detail when they were turned in. When the materials were complete, all information which could serve to identify the respondent was removed from the forms. In this way, respondents were also assured the anonymity as well as the confidentiality of the data.

In general, the data collection proceeded with the willing and often enthusiastic co-operation of the young people and frequently of their parents. That this significantly facilitated the study is gratefully acknowledged.

Data Processing and Analysis

To facilitate the analysis of the large number of variables, eventually 219 separate items, computer processing techniques were adopted for handling the quantitative data. Thus after completed interview schedules and questionnaires had been returned and checked, the forms were scored and the data coded and reorganized for processing. The accuracy of scoring and coding procedures was double-checked before key punching, data cards were verified, and the data computer-screened for incongruous or inconsistent categories.

The programming strategies for the analysis of the data were designed for this study to facilitate the testing of the hypotheses, the discovery of unanticipated relationships, and to provide for a relevant descriptive analysis. The strategies for the analysis follow the principles suggested by Morris Rosenberg and are indicated by the presentation of the findings in chapters V through VII.[6]

Three principal statistical techniques have been employed in the analysis, the Chi Square technique following Siegel, and the correlation coefficient, r, and analysis of variance, F-ratio, following Ferguson.[7] In instances where the analysis of variance was calculated on sets of three or more means, this was followed by orthogonal, a priori comparisons between all possible pairs following the Scheffé method.[8]

The five per cent level of statistical significance was specified as the technical criterion for rejection of the null hypothesis. However, because of the small sample size and because the research was intended as a preliminary study, throughout the analysis, consideration was also given to observed substantive patterns which were lacking statistical significance. Thus, while suitable caveats must be attached to this decision, all of the data were examined for insights which might guide present interpretation and future research.

As previously indicated, the ultimate adoption of interview methods for data collection allowed, by the greater flexibility of these methods, for provisions to be made in the study incorporating qualitative data in three ways. First, and possibly most important, such data allowed the clarification and greater specification of the categories employed in the analysis. This capability became particularly crucial in the analysis of subjective definitions of socio-cultural conditions. The capacity of qualitative data to stimulate new insights constitutes the second approach to its utilization, a considerable benefit to this study both during the collection of the data as well as the stage of analysis and interpretation. The final, and subordinate, use of qualitative data is for purposes of illustration in the quantitative analysis. Illustrations should not, however, be over-regarded in the context of the analysis. Relative to the testing of the hypotheses, they have a relation similar to the role of seasonings in a salad; however interesting the flavor may become, they are no substitute for the lettuce.

To facilitate the handling of qualitative data, the raw forms were ordered separately and filed by individual respondent. A cross-referencing system was then incorporated into the printout of the machine processed data.

NATURE AND CONTENT OF THE DATA

Development of the Instruments

Of the various scales and measures used in the study, three --the measure of subjective definitions of socio-cultural conditions and the scales indicating elements of hope and discipline-- were user-developed for this research. The items employed in the construction of these measures were generated during the 1972 Youth Culture Study and preliminary scale construction begun at that time. The final measures used were created in the fall of 1975 and details of their construction are provided below.

The remaining measures were made up of existing scales which were used either as originally published or in abridged or adapted form created specifically for this study. The procedures used here are also detailed below.

The various measures were separately pre-tested as part of the process of scale construction and the first comprehensive draft of the research questionnaire was not produced until early October, 1975. The initial draft was essentially a compendium of the more than two hundred possible items which were originally being considered. A subsequent draft reduced the number of items to 118 and a third draft was being considered to approach the final form of 90 to 95 items when the decision was made to alter the data collection to an interview method.

As part of the redesign of the study methods, it was decided to retain much of the questionnaire material that had already been developed. A draft form of the research instruments was thus prepared incorporating an interview schedule and five short questionnaires. By January these forms were available for pre-testing and six first year Arts students at Red Deer College were purposively selected for this end. The principal concerns in the pre-test were for clarity and precision of wordings, the order and process of the interview, the character and quality of the data return, and the length of administration. The small number of pre-test respondents was deemed sufficient for these purposes since testing of the separate measures had been conducted as part of the process of scale construction. Following each pre-test interview, the data return was assessed and each respondent was debriefed about his understanding of the meaning of items, reaction to the presentation of questions, perception of ambiguous references, reactions to the format and sequencing of items, and the possibilities for respondent fatigue. The pre-test indicated a need for several minor adjustments. Mutatis mutandum, the final form of the instrument was typed and printed by the end of February. As reproduced in Appendix C, that form incorporated the five questionnaires including 38, 28, 26, 20, and 21 questions respectively and the interview schedule which incorporated 56 items, many of them multiple-part questions.

The Measurement of Subjective Definitions

Objective conditions of social and cultural anomie cannot be measured directly. It is this fact that has previously led to the development of such indirect measures as Srole's Anomia scale. For the purposes of this research, however, the existing measures were found to be both inadequate and inappropriate. The task was therefore to develop a more suitable indicator of anomic conditions.

The paradigm of qualities of social and cultural conditions suggests such a more suitable approach. As understood, anomic conditions are variable within the total nomos yet situation specific. Thus, as apprehended by any single individual, the particular qualities of the objective reality should be comparatively apparent. The effort to operationalize the present concept of anomie will thus rest on individual reporting of the qualities of the nomos as subjectively apprehended and defined.

It is proposed that this approach involving a comparatively closer relation between the theory and the measurement ameliorates one of the distinct limitations of previous measures of anomie, the characteristically wide gap that existed between the theoretical concept, as for example, Merton's disjunction between ends and means, and the measurements such as the Srole measure of personal despair.

The notion of a close connection between objective social reality and individual definitions is not a new or startling idea. The importance of this linkage has been noted, first by W. I. Thomas with his concept of "definition of the situation," and more recently by, among others, Robert Merton in his discussion of "self-fulfilling prophecy."[9]

The idea of a close relationship between the qualities of objective realities and the definitions of subjective consciousness is particularly consistent with the dialectic perspective of the social construction of reality which is developed here. While the dialectic does not suggest that subjective definitions and objectivated social reality are one in the same, it does indicate that they exist in a dynamic, reciprocal process. Thus a gulf between theoretical construction and operational procedure continues to exist here as it does in all operationalizations, and the required leap of faith for both the researcher and the reader still obtains, but relative to previous anomie research, the magnitude of the chasm to be bridged is considerably diminished.

With the procedural principle established, the next task was to develop a suitable set of stimuli to be presented to the respondent so that subjective definitions might be reported in a form compatible to the paradigm. While the theory predicts that the four qualities of socio-cultural conditions will be variously apprehended, it is exceedingly unlikely that respondents would spontaneously choose concepts compatible with the paradigm to express their subjective definitions. Nor can it be necessarily assumed that they are explicitly conscious of these qualities.

The technique for operationalization was that reported by Richard E. Peterson in his measurement of student-types as predicted by a paradigm of student subcultures.[10]

As part of the 1972 Youth Culture Study, an accidental sample of 225 young people were respondents to a loosely-structured, open-ended interview where, among other issues, they were encouraged to discuss their feelings about Canadian society in general, their understandings and reactions, and their feelings about existing social institutions, both in general and relative to their personal experience. From these interviews a large pool of statements about the nature and quality of Canadian social and cultural conditions was developed embodying the phrasings of the young people themselves. The writer then grouped these statements in four sets according to their reflection of the thematic perspective of one or another of the theoretical categories cultural unity, pluralistic value disagreements, subcultural anomie or full anomie. Ambiguous statements were discarded.

During the summer of 1975 when the present study was being developed, these statements were again considered and were sorted and grouped within each category in an effort to identify the more common expressions used to communicate each theme. The statements thus identified were synthesized to produce a short paragraph which would communicate the essence of each of the four categories, again, using the phrasings of the 1972 sample of young people.

In October of last year, the draft paragraphs were pre-tested on a class of second year Arts students. Of particular concern were their understandings of the relative meaning of each statement. A modest revision to sharpen the distinctions and to remove one value-loaded statement led to a second testing in November. Following the second pre-test, minor changes removing two remaining ambiguities produced the format used in this study and reproduced below.

The first statement represents subjective definitions of pluralistic value disagreements.

> This set of ideas considers all the differences that one can find among people in their ideas, their values, and their way of life and feels that this makes our society an interesting place to live. People who hold this position tend to feel that people are free to do their own thing as long as they don't hurt

anybody. People are basically tolerant and respect each other. Nobody will force you to do something you don't want to do. Nevertheless, people who hold this position feel that while members of our society are different in many ways, they do agree on the really important things like how our society should be run. This is one of the strong points about our society.

Statement reflecting definitions of subcultural anomie:

This set of ideas considers the many differences among people in our society and finds that some of these differences could be considered problems. Often people who hold this position tend to feel that some groups of people are like they were living in different worlds, for example, young people and adults, and that they don't really communicate anymore. There are some people whom you can trust and believe, but there are others that you can't trust at all and may have to look out for. Generally speaking, those who hold this view tend to feel that they can depend on their friends but often feel that there are other people and groups who don't care about them and don't try to understand them. Young people who have this understanding are usually just trying to be themselves, to establish their own identity. They feel that the best thing they can do is just not have anything to do with those who would not understand them or who might try to stop them.

Statement reflecting definitions of cultural unity:

This set of ideas thinks that people are generally pretty dependable and that overall, people in our society get along together quite well. There are some problems, but we are able to solve them just like our parents were able to solve their problems and the next generation will be able to solve theirs. For people who hold this position, how you do something is just as important as how it turns out. If you plan carefully for the future, you are usually able to get what you want. Our society is changing, but it does so in ways that there is always a lot you can depend on. They trust their friends and even trust people they don't know because most people live by the rules.

Statement reflecting subjective definitions of full anomie:

This is the set of ideas held by people who feel that they really can't trust others or depend on them very much. Those who hold this viewpoint feel that too many people are trying to get things for themselves and really don't care if others get hurt. Far too often, success in our society is measured by how much you get and it really doesn't matter how you get it. People who have this set of ideas often feel lonely and confused. They see others breaking the rules and getting away with it, and so it's hard to blame them for breaking some of the rules as well. They often feel that business is based upon getting away with as much as possible, or that government is controlled by a small minority

> who mostly look out for themselves. It often appears as if people don't see any difference between right and wrong any more. There are a lot of times we just don't know what to believe. People tend to live only for what they are doing now. Nobody really thinks about the future, or anybody else's future.

Respondents were presented with the four statements, each printed on a separate card, and asked to read them through carefully trying to decide how close each of the statements came to the way they felt society was. When they had finished, the interviewer then asked them to indicate which statement came closest to their own point of view, which was the second best description of their feelings, and finally, which statement was the least accurate description of their point of view. The actual phrasing and presentation of this measure is reproduced in Part B of the interview schedule in Appendix C. Respondents were classified for the analysis according to which one of the four categories was selected as the most accurate representation of their own subjective definitions.

Additional questions in Part B of the interview probed the actual meaning-understandings of the respondents relative to the statements selected. This was an attempt to clarify qualitatively the basis for categorization in the sample. The result of this effort is reported in chapter V.

A major concern in the translation of a conceptual system into research operations is for the extent to which an indicator corresponds to a concept. This is, of course, the concern for validity. The validity of the method by which respondents are categorized on this major variable is a primary concern here for on it rests the utility and validity of the study as a whole.

Following Guttman's approach to the question in terms of separate concerns for "internal" and "external" validity, two approaches were advanced as tests of the validity of the measurement of subjective definitions.[11]

While definitions are operationally measured in terms of four discrete categories, the underlying assumption is one of a continuum from unequivocal definitions of cultural unity at one extreme to definitions of total and complete anomie at the other. If this conceptualization has a valid basis in both the nature of socio-cultural reality and in the subjective consciousness of the individual, then respondents locating themselves at one point on the continuum should identify an adjacent category as the second closest description of their point of view and should further indicate the category furthest removed as the least accurate description of their subjective feelings. On the other hand, a random selection of categories as first, second and least choices would lead to serious questioning of the validity of both the conceptualization and the measurement. The statements given to the respondents were shuffled as presented above, pluralistic value disagreements, subcultural anomie, cultural unity, and full anomie. Internal validity in the sense of a demonstrated logical relationship between the categories, was indicated by the extent to which the respondents by their selections discovered the pattern of relationship which was disguised in the presentation.

Previous research into concerns such as anomia and alienation have resulted in a number of well-used measures of the presumed social psychological concomitants to anomic disruption of the institutional order. Two such measures are the Srole scale and Rosenberg's measure of misanthropy.[12] To the extent that the selection of the various statements of subjective definitions correspond to variations in socio-cultural conditions as apprehended to consciousness, there should be a strong association between the categories selected and scores on the Rosenberg and Srole scales. External validity in the sense of an empirical relationship to known measures will be indicated by the association of low "anomia" and "misanthropy" scores with definitions of cultural unity and pluralistic value disagreements, and by the association of high scores with selection of the definitions of subcultural and full anomie.

The validity check for the measure of subjective definitions is reported in chapter V.

Construction of Scales for "Hope" and "Discipline"

Another aspect to the 1972 Youth Culture Study was concerned with what might be broadly termed hope and discipline. The young people sampled in the interview phase were encouraged to talk about their feelings toward the future generally and their expectations for their future specifically as well as the degree of confidence which they held for these expectations. They were also questioned concerning the nature of their social participation and the ways and extent that this participation influences, constrains or controls their behavior.

As the conceptualization crystallized on the concepts of Hope and Discipline as defined in the last chapter, the possibilities for using the statements concerning the future and social participation as item pools for the construction of Likert-type scales became apparent. This method was chosen principally for the relative ease of construction and administration and because the purpose for which the scales would be used was to roughly divide individuals into broad groups in terms of the two variables, not to provide detailed and subtle analysis of individual attitude sets.[13] Thus whatever the limitations of summated scales, the technique was adequate for the purposes of this study.

From a listing of just over 100 items, the first versions of the scales included 21 statements for each of hope and discipline. The test items were then administered to an accidental sample of 319 young people and the data used for item analysis. All forms were scored on a scale of one to five with three as the neutral response. The scores were then added and the questionnaires with the eighty high scores and the eighty low scores on each of the 21 item scales were retained. An item analysis of these data during the summer of 1975 revealed 10 items which provided the greatest discrimination between high and low scores on the dimension of hope and 12 superior, discriminating items on the dimension of discipline.

These two reduced scales were then subjected to a further pre-test and administered to two criterion groups known personally by the writer, 39 first-year nursing students at Red Deer College understood to characterize high levels of both hope and discipline as conceptually defined, and 18 first-year sociology students known for comparatively lower levels of hope and discipline. The purpose of this test was two-fold, first, by item analysis to further reduce each scale to between five and seven items, and second, to assess the validity of the scales by their ability to discriminate between the two criterion groups.

When the scores of the high-scoring 25 per cent and the low-scoring quarter of the combined sample were compared on an item-by-item basis, five items from each scale were found to possess greater powers of discrimination and these were retained for use in the study. The analysis of variance for the five-item mean scores of the two criterion groups was then found significant beyond the 0.01 level on both scales (F (Hope) = 22.38; F (Discipline) = 43.55) and it was concluded that the scales validly discriminated the attitude dimensions of hope and discipline sufficient for the purposes of this study.

The five scale items used to measure the subjective adjustment dimension of hope are:

1. Sometimes I just don't know what's going to happen to me.
2. I'm reasonably certain where I'll be and what I'll be doing ten years from now.
3. I know what my goals are and I'm working towards them.
4. Being confident in knowing what comes next for me isn't very important.
5. Generally speaking, I know where I'm going and what I want.

The five scale items measuring the subjective adjustment dimension discipline are:

1. If you value friendship, it is important that you live up to your friends' expectations.
2. In general I live for today since it's the only real world there is.
3. Usually I feel that if you have to work too hard for something, it really isn't worth it.
4. I feel that I am able to determine the course of my life.
5. You've got to plan and work in order to get things.

7

The scoring procedure for the two subjective adjustment scales followed standard summated rating scale methods.

Adaptations From Existing Scales

Of the remaining scales used in this research, six were adapted from the *College Student Questionnaire*, produced by Educational Testing Service as part of its Institutional Research Program in Higher Education.[14] The decision to use the C.S.Q. scales was based on a number of factors. First, the measures selected were consistent with the research design, some features of the study having been developed with these scales specifically in mind. Second, the scales were familiar, having been previously adapted to the Canadian educational context by the writer under license from Educational Testing Service and utilized in the institutional studies at both the University of Manitoba and Red Deer College.[15] And finally, the scales were known to possess good construct validity and powers of discrimination.[16]

The C.S.Q. scales used here are measures of independence from the parental family, study habits and motivation for grades, extracurricular participation, independence from peers, and a composite measure of family socio-economic status. The substantive character of these measures is discussed later in this chapter.

The only limitation with respect to the C.S.Q. scales was their length, an average of ten items each, which would have undesirably extended the interview. The measures were therefore abridged using the data from the samples of 286 first-year Arts students at the University of Manitoba and 576 students at Red Deer College. These data were available in a form which permitted item analysis with the result that those items showing comparatively lower powers of discrimination could be readily identified and the scales reduced in length without a corresponding great loss in either utility or validity. Four of the scales, the measures of family independence, study habits, motivation for grades and extracurricular involvement were reduced to five items each, and the measure of socio-economic status, which included only four items, was retained in its original form. The measure of peer independence was reduced to eight items, but a printing error which was not discovered until well into the data collection process necessitated the elimination of an additional item and therefore this scale appears in the analysis with seven items.

Three scales were derived from the Youth In Transition study sponsored by the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan.[17]

Two of the scales were abridged to provide a more acceptable length. The 27 items for educational values were reduced to 12, and the 13 items for deviation from educational norms were reduced to 10. In both instances the selection criterion was the item's utility within the purpose of this study and the concern that the final abridged scale should be representative of the range of the original measure. The third scale taken from the I.S.R. study was a composite measure of family relations and was used here in its 21-item entirety.

The 19-item index of leisure activities was created by collapsing and combining the 47 items in Pace's measures of leisure participation and enjoyment.[18] A 21-item self-report checklist of delinquent and deviant behavior was user-developed, based on similar measures reported by Bachmann, Nye and Short, and Clark and Wenniger.[19]

Given the number of Likert-type scales used in the study, it is wise to remain aware of some of the limitations of this scaling technique. Because of the lack of technical reproducibility in summated rating scales, similar scale scores for different individuals may not be equated. Therefore in the analysis, the pattern of responses will be considered along with total scores. In addition, as the numbers in the scale do not represent equally-occurring intervals, no assertions may be made about the magnitude of difference between different scores, nor, since the scale lacks a midpoint, can it be assumed that middle-range scores represent middle-range attitudes. However, on balance, Likert-type scales do provide a reliable, rough ordering of the sample with regard to the particular attitude dimension.[20] For the purpose of this study, these qualities are sufficient. The problems that may arise rest not in the capabilities of the scales but in the erroneous assumption of capabilities for the scales that neither exist nor were intended.

Content of the Data

The major variables for the study have been previously discussed. The minor variables which together indicate each of the major variables are briefly discussed in the following pages. The full interview schedule and the questionnaires along with a guide to the location of specific items are included as Appendix C.

Individual social situation: The minor variables considered in this section of the data are:

i. Age.

ii. Place of birth.

iii. Place and type of residence, residence with parental family or other arrangements.

iv. Student status; whether the individual is currently attending school, whether school attendance is full or part time, school attended, grade level, program.

v. Employment status; whether the individual has a job, the number of jobs, nature and type of job, hours worked, length of time in job, general job satisfaction.

vi. Personal finances; employment income, spending money, savings.

vii. Religious preference and attendance.

viii. Parental socio-economic status; a four item scale composed of indicators of father's occupation, parents' education, and total family income. The total score includes a weighting factor for income.

ix. Ethnicity; indicated by parents' place of birth.

x. Family size and respondent's birth order.

xi. Whether natural parents were living or dead.

xii. Family independence; a five-item scale which refers to a generalized autonomy in relation to parents and the parental family.

xiii. Family relationships; a 21-item scale focusing on the quality of the respondent's relationship with his parents and is composed of four sub-scales, measures of closeness to father, closeness to mother, participation in family decision making, and parental punitiveness.

xiv. Use of an automobile.

The major variable definitions of socio-cultural conditions is indicated by the respondent's selection from the four typical statements described earlier. There are in addition six questions providing for a subjective probing of the respondent's understandings.

The major variable psychological concomitants to socio-cultural conditions is measured by use of the following two scales:

i. Anomia (Srole scale).

ii. Misanthropy, a pervasive distrust of the motives of others (Rosenberg scale).

Objective adjustments in behavior appears in the data in the form of three subsets of categories, educational participation, peer relations and social participation, and delinquent behavior. The relevant minor variables are:

Educational Participation:

i. Study habits, a five-item scale indicating a serious, disciplined, planful orientation towards customary academic obligations.

ii. Motivation for grades, a five-item scale indicating a comparatively strong desire to earn good marks in high school.

iii. Education values, a twelve-item summated scale which indicates the respondents general orientation towards the major value-themes of Canadian educational institutions.

iv. General attitudes with respect to doing well in school, "getting along" with teachers and other students, and general likes and dislikes.

v. Patterns of interaction with teachers.

vi. Interest in courses.

vii. Deviation from school conduct norms, a ten-item scale indicating relative compliance with or deviation from school rules and expectations.

Social Participation:

i. Formal group participation, number of groups belonged to and the nature of participation.

ii. Extracurricular participation, a five-item scale measuring the relative degree of the respondents' participation in the organized extracurricular activities of his school.

iii. Peer independence, a seven-item scale indicating a generalized autonomy in relation to peers.

iv. Time allocation for leisure and dating activities, visiting with friends.

v. Leisure activities, a checklist of 19 items.

vi. Occupation and personal finances.

Self-Reported Delinquency and Deviation:

i. Twenty-one item scale.

The major variable, subjective adjustment, is incorporated in the data by the following:

i. Hope, a five-item, user constructed scale.

ii. Discipline, also a five-item, user constructed scale.

iii. General happiness; indicated by subjective evaluation of happiness, sources of happiness and unhappiness, expectations for the future, reported major problems or causes of concern and worry.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

A breakdown of selected sample characteristics is presented in Table 4:3. As expected, the greatest proportion of the sample are in the 16 to 18 age category with only three respondents aged 19. Over half of the sample were born in the Red Deer area and over three-quarters in the Province of Alberta. Only ten per cent of the sample were born

Table 4:3. Selected Sample Characteristics.

Variable	Sample Distribution	
	N	%
A. Age at last birthday:		
16	27	34
17	37	46
18	13	16
19	3	4
	80	100
B. Place of birth:		
Central Alberta	45	56
Other Alberta	16	20
Western Canada	11	14
Other Canada	5	6
Elsewhere	3	4
	80	100
C. Place of residence:		
City of Red Deer	70	87
Red Deer County	7	9
Penhold	3	4
	80	100
D. Student status:		
Public high school:		
Full time	57	71
Part time	6	8
Separate high school:		
Full time	13	16
Part time	--	--
Not attending	4	5
	80	100
E. Grade (incl. grade last attended.):		
10	2	3
11	38	47
12	40	50
	80	100
F. Program of studies:		
Vocational	8	10
Commercial	2	3
Matriculation	48	60
Diploma General	22	27
	80	100

Table 4:3. (continued) Selected Sample Characteristics.

Variable	Sample Distribution	
	N	%
G. Religious preference:		
United Church	7	9
Anglican	10	12
Other Protestant	17	21
Roman Catholic	14	18
Other	1	1
No religious preference	31	39
	80	100
H. Ethnicity:		
Parents born in Canada	52	65
Father born in Canada	2	3
Mother born in Canada	8	10
Neither born in Canada	15	19
	77*	97*
I. Father's occupation:		
Unskilled/semiskilled	9	11
Service worker	19	24
Skilled	21	26
White collar	11	14
Owner/manager/exec.	16	20
Professional	2	3
	78*	98*
J. Total Family Income:		
Under 10,000	5	6
10,000 to 13,999	11	14
14,000 to 19,999	33	42
20,000 to 31,999	16	20
32,000 and over	13	16
	78*	98*
K. Status of natural parents:		
Both living/together	66	83
Father deceased	4	5
Mother deceased	1	1
Separated/divorced	7	9
	78*	98*

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* Remainder comprised nonresponse.

outside Western Canada indicating the fundamental stability of the population and suggesting a general lack of cosmopolitan character.

As expected by the design of the sample, the great majority is drawn from the city of Red Deer with a few from the immediate surrounding area in the County and from Canadian Forces Base Penhold.

The breakdowns for student status and grade-in-school are about as anticipated with the figures for grade including the four respondents who had stopped attending school at the time of the study. The breakdown for program of studies indicates the pattern of responses when individuals were asked to describe their program. These categories are somewhat meaningless concepts from the point-of-view of the school administrations and as a result, no comparable data for the schools as a whole are available. A discussion of the sample data with the Principal of the public high school, however, elicited the opinion that the proportion in vocational-commercial programs was about right but that the numbers of respondents indicating the matriculation program was quite high. Rather than indicating a sampling bias, this latter observation seems better explained by the fact that within the general program a large number of matriculation subjects are taken and university entrance requirements can be attained. Thus while the proportion taking a full matriculation program at the school is closer to 25 per cent, the significantly higher proportion in the sample is likely a result of respondents unintentionally or deliberately misrepresenting the formal designation of their program of study.

In terms of the statement of religious preference, there are two significant differences between the sample data and the known breakdown for the 1971 census division which includes the city of Red Deer, the greater proportion stating no religious preference and the understatement of United Church affiliation. While there is no doubt a connection between these two observations reflecting a greater willingness of the young people in the sample to claim no religious affiliation, it is also true that the denomination is under-represented in the sample. The other categories are within one or two percentage points of the 1971 census distribution.[21]

Data for father's place of birth are comparable to the available census data. In the 1971 census, 26.8 per cent of Alberta fathers were born outside Canada as compared with 28.75 per cent in the sample.[22]

No attempt was made to relate the census data on occupation with the sample breakdown, principally because of the incompatibility of the respective reporting formats. However, a general overview indicates under-representation in the sample of the categories unskilled/semiskilled, whitecollar and professional, and a corresponding over-representation of service workers and the owner/manager/executive category.

The breakdown of family income data was not related to any existing community statistics and is presented here for information purposes. The one observation arising from this part of the interview is that with inflation and the increasing phenomenon of more than one member of the family with full-time labor force participation, future studies using the College Student Questionnaire income categories will have to add additional categories to the high range of the scale.

Finally, the selected sample characteristics indicate the status of the respondents' natural parents, with 15 per cent of the respondents indicating circumstances other than both parents living and together in the home. A subsequent item in the interview which made provision for step-parents indicated that only 8.25 per cent were currently residing with a divorced, separated, or widowed single parent. The 1971 census indicated 6.04 per cent of family heads in Alberta were in this category.[23]

PLAN FOR THE DATA ANALYSIS

The analysis of the data which follows in chapters V and VI provides a systematic testing of the hypotheses presented in chapter III. The order of the analysis follows the sequence in which the hypotheses were presented.

Chapter V begins with an examination of the selections of subjective definitions including consideration of the substantive interpretations of the four categories which were offered by the respondents. The measures are assessed for both internal and external validity including a test of association with criterion measures of "anomia" and "misanthropy." The balance of the chapter is devoted to the analysis of relationships between the four categories of subjective definitions and the indicators of individual social situation.

In chapter VI, the analysis considers subjective definitions and characteristic patterns of adjustment. First to be examined are relationships with adjustments in behavior with the consideration of the hypotheses relating subjective definitions and instrumental activity, expressive activity, and self-reported delinquency and deviation. The chapter concludes with an analysis of reported subjective meaningfulness. Relationships between subjective definitions and the meaningfulness dimensions of hope and discipline are considered as are the relationships between the measures of subjective meaningfulness and behavior variables.

The final chapter of the report includes a discussion of the findings and the presentation of conclusions relating to the nine research objectives cited in chapter III.

FOOTNOTES

1. William K. Stuebing, *Youth Culture '71: Edmonton Area Study*, Ottawa: Department of National Health and Welfare, 1972 (private circulation). No comprehensive report was prepared on the Edmonton area research for 1972. The Department of National Health and Welfare did not make a general public report on the projects.

2. In addition to the Youth Culture Studies, *cf*. William K. Stuebing, *A Study of Student Backgrounds, Attitudes and Student Types at the University of Manitoba*, Winnipeg: St. John's College, The University of Manitoba, 1969.; Wm. K. Stuebing and Paul Tietzen, "Student Subcultures in Canada and the United States: Some Preliminary Findings," in Arthur K. Davis (ed.), *Canadian Confrontations: Hinterlands vs. Metropolis*, Edmonton: Western Association of Sociology and Anthropology, 1970. pp.109-15.; The writer has also participated in the design and conduct of student studies as part of the institutional research at Red Deer College.

3. By this time the "merits" and "benefits" of the study had so frequently been defended and frustrations so frequently encountered, that the completion of the project had gone well beyond the practical considerations of a Ph.D. dissertation and was assuming some of the characteristics of a moral crusade. If, as it has been suggested, there is more than one way to skin a cat, it was determined that this particular cat would be skinned.

4. Interviewers encountered not just willingness on the part of respondents but frequent enthusiasm as well. At the conclusion of the interview, just under half volunteered the observation that they considered the study both important and relevant and were of the feeling that something of this nature should have been done earlier. Two respondents indicated that they considered the study to be of no value.

5. All of the interviewers were known to the writer and possessed good, professional interviewing skills. While undoubtedly the number of interviewers employed is high for such a comparatively small sample, this was necessitated by the limited availability of the interviewers (all had other employment and commitments) and the need to insure prompt follow-up with potential respondents after the mailing had been received. All interviewers worked with a spirit of personal and professional dedication at a small portion of the standard rates for interviews of this type. Their contribution to this study is both greatly appreciated and acknowledged.

6. Morris Rosenberg, *The Logic of Survey Analysis*, *op. cit.*, other references used include: Claire Selltiz, *et al.*, *Research Methods in Social Relations*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964; Julian L. Simon, *Basic Methods in Social Science: The Art of Empirical Investigation*, New York: Random House, 1969.; C. A. Moser, *Survey Methods in Social Investigation*, London: Heinemann Educational Books, Ltd., 1969.; Johan Galtung, *Theory and Methods of Social Research*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1967.; Delbert C. Miller, *Handbook of Research Design and Social Measurement*, (2nd. ed.), New York: David McKay Company, 1970.

7. Sidney Siegel, *Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1956.; and George A. Ferguson, *Statistical Analysis in Psychology and Education*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1966. Other references used include: Donald W. Stilson, *Probability and Statistics in Psychological Research and Theory*, San Francisco: Holden-Day, Inc., 1966.; William Mendenhall and Lyman Ott, *Understanding Statistics* (2nd. ed.), North Scituate, Mass.: Duxbury Press, 1976.; Herbert Arkin and Raymond R. Colton, *Tables for Statisticians*, New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1963.

8. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, pp.295-7.

9. Merton, *op. cit.*, pp.421-36.

10. Richard E. Peterson, *On a Typology of College Students*, Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, 1965. pp.3-9. In addition to Peterson's study, one research application of the student typology is Stuebing and Tietzen, *op. cit*.

11. *Cf*. Hans L. Zetterberg, *On Theory and Verification in Sociology*, Totowa, N.J.: The Bedminster Press, 1966., chapter 7.

12. Srole, *op. cit.*; Rosenberg, "Misanthropy and Political Ideology," *op. cit*.

13. The method employed here is based on the following: A. N. Oppenheim, *Questionnaire Design and Attitude Measurement*, New York: Basic Books, 1966, pp.133-43.; Selltiz, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp.366-70.; Reference was also made to various articles appearing in Gary M. Marshall, (ed.), *Scaling: A Sourcebook for Behavioral Scientists*, Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1974.

14. Educational Testing Service, *College Student Questionnaire*, Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, 1968.; Richard E. Peterson, *College Student Questionnaire: A Technical Manual*, Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, 1968.

15. Stuebing, *op. cit.*, also Stuebing and Tietzen, *op. cit*.

16. Peterson, *op. cit.*, pp.33-56. Peterson's discussion of the validity of the C.S.Q. scales does not directly apply to the present measures which were both abridged and adapted.

17. Jerald G. Bachman, et al., Youth in Transition, Volume I: Blueprint for a Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Boys, Ann Arbor, Mich.: Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan. 1969.

17. C. R. Pace, They Went to College, as cited in Miller, op. cit., pp.294-7.

19. Bachman, et al., op. cit.; F. Ivan Nye and James F. Short, Jr., "Scaling Delinquent Behavior," American Sociological Review, vol. 22, June 1957. pp.326-31.; John P. Clark and Eugene P. Wenninger, "Social Class and Area as Correlates of Illegal Behavior Among Juveniles," American Sociological Review, vol. 27, December 1962. pp.826-34.

20. Oppenheim, op. cit., pp.140-1.

21. Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 Census of Canada, Cat. 92-763 (AP-12), September 1973.

22. Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 Census of Canada, Cat. 93-722, May 1975.

23. Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 Census of Canada, Cat. 93-718, July 1975.

Chapter V

SUBJECTIVE DEFINITIONS OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONDITIONS

Introduction

Subjective definitions of socio-cultural conditions were measured in the sample following the methods indicated. The initial phase of the analysis then was the determination of the distribution of subjective definitions in the sample and the testing of the validity of the measurement. The first section of this chapter discusses the findings relevant to these concerns.

The second section of the chapter considers the individual meanings which the respondents attach to the categories. Of interest here are such questions as how do the respondents describe their selections and what explanations do they make for the validity of their definitions?

The final section of this chapter is concerned with the relationships between subjective definitions and indicators of individual social situation.

SUBJECTIVE DEFINITIONS IN THE SAMPLE

Distribution of Categories

The conceptualization of qualities of social and cultural conditions indicates a continuum of possible conditions ranging from complete cultural unity at one extreme position to total anomie at the other. The measurement of subjective definitions of these qualities of social and cultural reality as apprehended in consciousness similarly assumes a continuum of possible understandings. For convenience, the range of possibilities is summarized in the four categories, cultural unity to pluralistic value disagreements through subcultural anomie finally to full anomie.

Nothing in the conceptualization or in the review of the literature provided a precise basis for predicting the distribution of these categories in the sample. Nevertheless, it was generally expected that there would be a favoring of the two definitions embodying consciousness of anomic conditions and that the categories would approximate a normal distribution with fewer extreme choices. Some aspects of the sample distribution, shown in table 5:1 were thus somewhat unexpected and surprising.

Table 5:1. Distribution of Categories of Subjective Definitions in the Sample.

Category	Selection as first choice	
	N	%
Cultural Unity	27	34
Pluralistic Value Disagreement	12	15
Subcultural Anomie	22	27
Full Anomie	19	24
Totals:	80	100

The proportion selecting categories which included consciousness of conditions of anomie, 51 per cent was smaller than anticipated but not particularly surprising. However, the comparatively large proportion of the respondents indicating that the statement of cultural unity was closest to their point of view was largely unforeseen as was the relative few selecting pluralistic value disagreement.

In principle, it was thought that the statement of cultural unity was perhaps the most idealistic and least realistic of the four choices. It had been felt that young people who apprehended a fundamental coherence as the quality of social and cultural conditions would nonetheless select the statement of pluralistic value disagreement. This expectation was predicated on the asusmption of at least some familiarity with cultural diversity and conflict as mediated by the mass media and at least some minimal first or second hand experience with the status ambiguity that theoretically defines youth.

The distribution of first selections in the sample remains, therefore, something to be explained. The first insight into these unexplained features comes with the analysis of the patterns of choice which the respondents reveal.

Test of Internal Validity

The underlying continuum to the categories of subjective definitions was concealed in the presentation of the statements to the respondents. The internal validity of the measurement was tested by the extent that respondents were able to discover the pattern of the continuum by selecting adjacent categories for their second choice and the relative extreme category as the statement which is the least accurate description of their point of view.

Of the twenty-four possible combinations of selections, six may be considered to recover the pattern. If the respondent were to select cultural unity as most appropriate, he would then have to select pluralistic value disagreements second and full anomie last to recover the implicit continuum. Conversely, a respondent selecting full anomie must indicate subcultural anomie second and cultural unity last. Respondents selecting either pluralistic value disagreement or subcultural anomie may go either way and thus have each two alternatives for second choice consistent with the continuum. They must, however, respectively select full anomie and cultural unity for their choice of the least accurate statement. Any of the remaining eighteen patterns were considered to violate the pattern and were classed as "random selection." How the respondents fared is shown in table 5:2.

Table 5:2. Distribution of Patterned and Random Selections by Category of Subjective Definition.

Subjective Definition Category	Patterned Choices		Randomly Selected Choices	
	N	%	N	%
Cultural Unity	12	15	15	19
Pluralistic Value Disagreement	10	12	2	2
Subcultural Anomie	19	24	3	4
Full Anomie	14	18	5	6
Totals:	55	69	25	31

For the sample as a whole, 55 respondents or 69 per cent of the sample discovered the pattern about which, it should be emphasized, they were in no way informed. Not surprisingly respondents who first indicated the extreme choices thus having only one possible combination for recovery of the continuum pattern showed the greatest proportions of random selections while respondents initially selecting pluralistic value disagreement or subcultural anomie, with two alternatives for pattern recovery each, fared better. The relatively high proportion of random selections associated with the first choice of cultural unity is particularly noteworthy. That over half who initially selected this alternative should follow with a statement of subcultural or full anomie suggests that many of the respondents, who unexpectedly made cultural unity their first choice, have consciously ambiguous subjective definitions of socio-cultural conditions. This is in fact indicated by the analysis of individual meanings in the next section of this chapter providing an insight into the number of respondents indicating that the statement of cultural unity was closest to their own viewpoint.

In terms of the sample as a whole, the test for internal validity was whether the number of patterned selections was significantly larger than might be randomly obtained. The probability associated with 55 patterned selections was investigated by using the normal-curve approximation of the binomial distribution. The random probability of patterned selection was calculated as 6/24 or $p=0.25$ and the mean of the binomial as $\mu=20$, with the standard deviation $\sigma=3.87$. The observed number of patterned observations at 55 is thus 9.04 standard deviation units from the mean. The exact probability of such distribution was not calculated but is known to be very considerably beyond the 0.05 level accepted by this study. In an additional test of the observed distribution, the chi-square statistic was calculated as 81.67, also with a probability well beyond the 0.05 level.

The internal validity of the measure is thus accepted by the significant discovery of the implicit pattern of the continuum.

Test of External Validity

Psychological concomitants to objective conditions of social and cultural anomie were indicated in the sample by Srole's measure of "Anomia" and Rosenberg's "Misanthropy" scale. As discussed previously, the anomia scale is an indicator of the individual's generalized, pervasive sense of self-to-others distance and alienation.[1] Misanthropy is a measure of a generalized lack of faith in people, a pervasive mistrust of the motives of others.[2]

The external validity of the user-developed measure of subjective definitions of social and cultural conditions was tested by the relationship between the four categories of definitions in the sample and corresponding scores for the indicators of psychological concomitants.

The distribution of scoring responses to the anomia items by categories of subjective definitions is shown in table 5:3 and similar information for the misanthropy scale items is reported in table 5:4. Generally, the items on both scales did discriminate between respondents in the four categories with the misanthropy items doing so more significantly. Respondents who had indicated that the statements describing subcultural or full anomie were closest to their individual understandings also scored higher on the indicators of psychological concomitants. On the anomia scale, respondents who had selected the statements which did not include consciousness of anomic conditions scored lower with those indicating pluralistic value disagreement having the lowest mean scores. This is indicated by figure 5:1 which is based on the data reported in table 5:5. On the measure of misanthropy, the pattern was essentially similar as shown by figure 5:2 and table 5:6, with the exception being that the lowest mean scores were here associated with the category of cultural unity.

Following the application of the _F_ test to the sets of mean scores for anomia and misanthropy, orthogonal comparisons were made on all

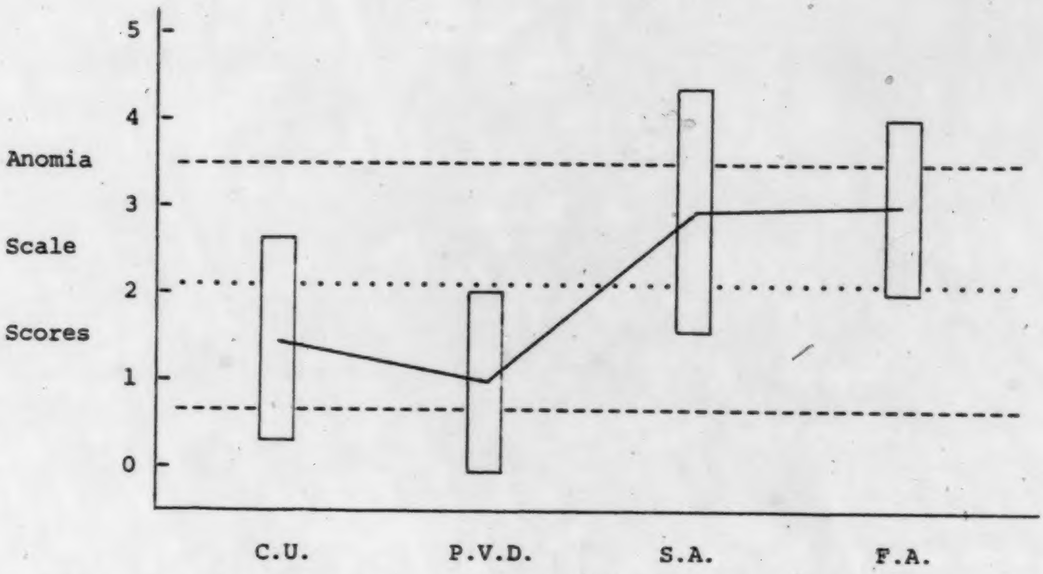
Table 5:3. Anomia Scale Items by Subjective Definition of Socio-Cultural Conditions (Per Cent Agreeing)[3].

Srole Anomia Scale Items	Subjective Definition				Sample Totals
	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	
	N=27 %	N=12 %	N=22 %	N=19 %	N=80 %
The lot of the average man is getting worse................	52	25	64	74	56
Hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future...	22	33	45	53	38
Person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself...	26	17	55	26	33
These days a person doesn't really know who he can count on........................	11	17	55	74	39
Public officials aren't really interested in the problems of the average man......	37	8	68	68	49

Table 5:4. Misanthropy Scale Items by Subjective Definition of Socio-Cultural Conditions (Per Cent Agreeing)[4].

Rosenberg Misanthropy Scale Items	Subjective Definition				Sample Totals
	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	
	N=27 %	N=12 %	N=22 %	N=19 %	N=80 %
You can't be too careful in dealing with others..........	30	25	73	68	50
More people are inclined to lookout for themselves than help others..................	59	92	100	95	84
People will take advantage of you......................	67	50	82	90	74
No one is going to care much what happens to you..........	19	17	55	68	40
Human nature is not fundamentally co-operative.......	7	8	23	42	20

Figure 5:1. Mean Scores for the Psychological Concomitant Anomia by Category of Subjective Definition.



.... Total sample mean.
------- Limits of ± one standard deviation about sample mean.
——— Connects subgroup means.
Vertical bars have height proportionate to one standard deviation above and below subgroup mean.

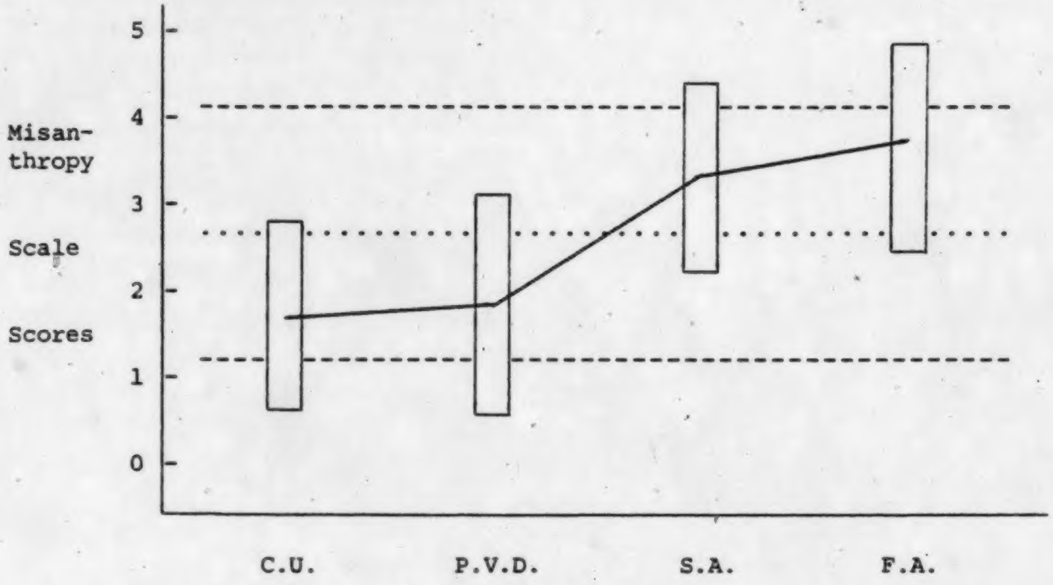
Table 5:5. Mean Anomia Scores by Subjective Definition.

Category of Subjective Definition				Total Sample
C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	
$\bar{X}$= 1.48	$\bar{X}$= 1.00	$\bar{X}$= 2.86	$\bar{X}$= 2.95	$\bar{X}$= 2.14
s= 1.12	s= 1.04	s= 1.39	s= 1.02	s= 1.40
n= 27	n= 12	n= 22	n= 19	n= 80

F= 12.46, $p < .05$

possible pairs of means within each set. This procedure indicated that in both sets of mean scores, the significant differences were between the scores for those respondents who had selected the statements of cultural unity or

Figure 5:2. Mean Scores for the Psychological Concomitant Misanthropy by Category of Subjective Definition.



. . . . Total sample mean.
------- Limits of ± one standard deviation about sample mean.
———— Connects subgroup means.
Vertical bars have height proportionate to one standard deviation above and below subgroup mean.

Table 5:6. Mean Misanthropy Scores by Subjective Definition.

Category of Subjective Definition				Total Sample
C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	
$\bar{X}$= 1.81 s= 1.11 n= 27	$\bar{X}$= 1.92 s= 1.24 n= 12	$\bar{X}$= 3.32 s= 1.09 n= 22	$\bar{X}$= 3.63 s= 1.21 n= 19	$\bar{X}$= 2.68 s= 1.40 n= 80

F= 13.28, $p < .05$

pluralistic value disagreement and those who indicated that the statements of subcultural or full anomie were closer to their understanding.[5]

Before these findings were interpreted as a test of the external validity for the categories of subjective definition, the possible effects of the factor of random versus patterned choice was considered. In both of the measures of psychological concomitants the effect of removing respondents with a pattern of random selections was to intensify the already significant relationships by lowering the mean anomia and misanthropy scores for the subgroups of cultural unity and pluralistic value disagreements while simulatneously raising the mean scores for the categories of subcultural and full anomie.

Because of the small number of individual scores involved, the only subgroup of respondents with random selections to be separately examined was the fifteen young people who first selected the statement of cultural unity then ambiguously indicated either subcultural or full anomie as the perspective which was the second closest to their understanding. For both the anomia and misanthropy scores, the mean for this "unity-ambiguity" subgroup was higher than the mean score for the cultural unity category with the random selections removed. This difference was significant at the .05 level for the misanthropy scores only. However, the unity-ambiguity means remained significantly lower than the mean scores for either subcultural or full anomie.

The significant difference between the mean scores for the subgroups of cultural unity and unity-ambiguity on one of the test measures serves notice that the factor of random selection merits consideration in the subsequent analysis, However in the test of the hypothesis concerning the external validity of the measure of subjective definitions, its function is clearly that of a suppressor variable reducing the relationship between the mean scores. Despite this, a significant pattern of association between mean scores on the controls for psychological concomitants and the categories of subjective definition of social and cultural conditions was obtained. The hypothesis predicting external validity for the measure is therefore accepted.

Summary

The hypotheses concerning the validity of the measure of subjective definitions have both been accepted and the categories are therefore interpreted as a valid indicator of the respondents' understandings of the quality of social and cultural conditions as subjectively defined in paradigmatic terms of cultural unity, pluralistic value disagreements, subcultural anomie, and full anomie.[7]

DEFINITIONS AND MEANINGS: A QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

Introduction

Part of the effort to determine just what was being indicated by the selections from the four statements of social and cultural conditions focused on the respondents' individual understandings. After each respondent had indicated his choices, he was further questioned on the way he would describe, in his own words, the reasons for the particular selection. In the case of his first choice, he was further invited to identify significant similarities and differences between his point of view and the one expressed in the statement. Finally, he was asked to estimate, from his experience, the proportions of other people who might subscribe to the particular subjective definitions.

These procedures had three purposes. The first, and perhaps for the study most important purpose, was to verify the initial selections of the respondents. By giving the respondent a second opportunity to consider the alternative perpsectives and to discuss his selections, any misunderstanding or confusion in the initial selection procedure might be identified and resolved as the respondent verbalized his position. No individual pattern of selection was revised or changed on the basis of these statements by either the interviewer or the coder, however, some respondents did seek to clarify their perspective, three changing their original choices.

The second purpose in having the respondents expand on their selections was to substantiate the categories of subjective definition. In effect, in addition to wanting to know which one of the study's statements the individual felt was the most accurate description of his perspective, the additional effort was an attempt to identify something of the ideas, perceptions, understandings and meanings of which the respondent himself was conscious. In this regard, the four statements shown to the respondent during the interview were functioning as a projective stimulus.

The final purpose of these ancilliary forms in the interview was a general effort to assess how the young people saw their subjective understandings relative to the perceptions of others. How do those upholding a particular set of definitions see the distribution of those ideas in the larger society?

What follows in this section is a qualitative analysis of the returns from these ancilliary questions.

Cultural Unity

As has been shown, the respondents who were located in this category on the basis of their first choice, were constituted by two somewhat distinct subgroups, those who discovered the implicit pattern and those who, in random selection, indicated an ambiguous definition of socio-cultural conditions. For reasons of interest and the relation of this difference to the analysis, the subgroups will be considered separately. The focus will therefore be first given to the twelve respondents in the category of cultural unity who made patterned selections; an analysis of the unity-ambiguity subgroup will follow.

In common with most of the sample, respondents in the cultural unity category tended to pick up on a few key phrases from the prepared statements when they were asked to explain their selections in their own words. Here, the respondents all picked up on the idea of being able to trust other people, and the notion that if you plan carefully for the future, you are usually able to get what you want. In their expressions however, the young people pulled back some from the sweeping generalizations of the prepared statements and included some reservations.

> "People are dependable most of the time..."
>
> "I just think people are pretty dependable over all, you just can't pick certain areas whether black or white. I think you should just trust all people to begin with."
>
> "When it comes down to it, people will help each other out..."
>
> "I agree about planning for the future. You can get what you want if you plan for it. [And] in my experience, I would say that most people can be trusted...Often you trust people because of 'rules.'"
>
> "...People get along quite well...I trust people generally... I don't trust people who I don't know at all."
>
> "If you plan carefully, you get what you want..."
>
> "Plan for the future, you can get what you want. Most people are dependable until I find out otherwise."
>
> "I think like it says, people overall start out as good guys. Its just things they run into along the way that corrupt them."

While all the young people in this category endorsed the statement as being very close to their understanding, the reservations and qualifications they would attach to the meanings indicated an internal wrestling with normative and cognitive expectations. The comments of two respondents capture the essence of this dilemma.

> "Basically if you give people half a chance, they'll trust you and you'll trust them and it'll be a whole lot better all around. If you live by the rules, they're basically set out for the betterment of everybody, then you'll probably do a whole lot better in your life. And don't take people at first impression."

> "I wouldn't say you could trust your friends because they live by the rules, but because you know them."

The reservations expressed here are also in part likely a function of the awareness of alternative experiences and understandings. When asked to estimate the proportion of people in general who would share their perspective, none of the young people in this category would suggest more than half. None would state with unqualified certainty, but ten of the twelve did indicate around 50 per cent.

> "Probably 50 per cent...I don't think most people distrust other people...they can depend on them."

> "Maybe about 50 per cent, half the people help other people, half don't."

> "About 50 per cent...at least I think...I hope." [Probe: Why do you say this?] "I don't know...I hope I'm not abnormal or different."

> "About half, some people have had a harder life, some have had fewer close friends."

> "I don't think there's as many as you would expect, many people live as in card number 4 [full anomie], living for today. There's not too much trust."

> "Probably very few. Most older people it seems don't get along with their children."

If the young people in this category were somewhat less than total in their endorsement of the idea of cultural unity, their perspective is much more certain in their selection of the statement of full anomie as the least accurate description. If their acceptance of cultural unity includes some caveats, their rejection of the antithesis is unequivocal.

> "This is far too negative, you can trust people. You'd have to be in a bad space to think that [full anomie]."
>
> "People are considerate and can be trusted. If someone breaks the rules, they are wrong."
>
> "It's [full anomie] saying that [you] can't trust anybody and you can't communicate and I don't think anybody can really live like that."
>
> "If [full anomie] says you can't trust others and I disagree, and that everyone just looks after themselves and I don't agree."
>
> "I think that people should plan and live for the future. It [full anomie] talks of lack of trust, but you've always got your friends. People do trust others and I don't think that people purposely hurt other people to get ahead."
>
> "Young people do understand and are understood. If that's not the case, you should do what you can to communicate. I make myself understood."

In summary, the young people in the cultural unity category were somewhat less than unequivocal in their selection of the prepared statement. Most were conscious of ambiguous and contradictory conditions in the larger society but that these rarely affected them personally. If the category of cultural unity is not defined by a strong positive acceptance of the perspective, the young people here are identified by their full rejection of any notion of anomie. Thus the selections in this category would appear to have more of a normative character, "This is the way it ought to be."

Cultural Unity - Ambiguity

The fifteen respondents who selected the statement of cultural unity as the closest to their point of view and then skipped the patterned choice to select an expression of anomic conditions as the second best description of their understandings focused in their expression of the cultural unity ideas mainly on the element of trust.

> "It [cultural unity] says that basically people get along together. I agree with that."
>
> "People on the whole are trustable, not all but most."
>
> "It's [cultural unity] idealistic like I am; it's optimistic like I hope to be."
>
> "Most people that I know are fairly dependable. There are definitely some problems, but we're able to solve most of them. My parents have helped me with my problems; I hope to help my children with theirs."

This latter emphasis which focuses the understanding on the closely personal experience of the individual was also found in the expressions of some of the other young people in this subgroup.

> "[I feel this way] because of the way I was brought up in my family. I've also developed this point of view at school."
>
> "You hear about the odd one who can't get along but in our family we've always been able to discuss things and get along and I think that for the majority that things work out alright."

The real concern in this subgroup for the element of trust was particularly apparent when the young people were asked if there were any important differences between their subjective understandings and the prepared statement of cultural unity.

> "It's [cultural unity] what I think, that's the way it's always been....[However] I trust my friends but other people don't live by the rules all the time."
>
> "It says here 'most people live by the rules.' I agree, most do but I think there's quite a few that don't."

Other statements also reveal the problematic ambivalence to the notion of trusting other people.

> "It seems that most people are good, what you see of them... [but] it's just the factor of trust again. You can't really trust everybody. You learn the lesson some times. Yeah, I learned my lesson."
>
> "I trust my friends and some I don't know so I agree with that

> part [of the statement, but]...most people don't live by the rules, it's so hypocritical."

The fundamental ambivalence towards trusting others and the ambiguity of the subjective understandings of the young people here was particularly apparent in their choices of the statement that was "the second best description of your point of view." Thirteen of the fifteen selected the statement of subcultural anomie here and all explained with reference to the ability to trust and get along with others.

> "I can trust some of my friends, but some I can't. I can get along with anybody, if they want to get along."

> "Some people are okay, others need to be watched. You can trust some, not all."

> "There are a lot of differences among people that could be considered problems. Some people are living in their own world, there is the 'trustable' and the 'untrustable.' Some people don't care about anybody."

The individual who had indicated that his first choice was "optimistic," explained his second choice of subcultural anomie by saying that "It's more realistic."

In explaining their second choice, several of the young people in this subgroup made specific mention of a "generation gap."

> "I particularly agree with the last paragraph about young people wanting to establish their own identity and others don't understand."

> "There are some who can't talk to their parents and have trouble communicating with older people."

> [I chose this second] "because I feel a lot of times that there is a communication gap. They [parents] don't understand why you want to go out at night or why you're always out running around."

> "Between a first and second choice it was pretty close, but [the second choice] states that people and adults don't get along and you hear about this and that would be the second thing that happens most. Next to being able to get along, you just don't get along."

One respondent was particularly clear in his understanding of the sources of the ambiguity.

> "I agree with it [subcultural anomie] also. Young people and adults don't communicate. When people forty and up kick the bucket, it'll be a totally different society. It won't be as bad as it is right now, much less restrictive."

Two of the respondents liked the statement of full anomie for their second choice and their explanations included a greater element of despair.

> "I think a lot of people don't know right or wrong anymore. People like card number four [full anomie] don't have much trust."

> "Most people who don't agree with me go along with this one [full anomie]. At times I almost feel this way, it's just about the opposite."

In common with those who selected cultural unity and discovered the pattern, the young people in this unity-ambiguity subgroup also defined themselves by their emphatic rejection of full anomie.

> "People are not as paranoid as it says."

> "This is not a realistic point of view."

> "It's close-minded and paranoiac."

> "Not everybody feels that everybody's rotten."

> "I don't agree with one thing here."

> "It's a very negative point of view."

> "I don't think people are that selfish."

> "I don't agree with that at all. Only a few people are like that."

The young person who was so clear in his understandings of the sources of ambiguity was also clear in his rejection of the perspective of full anomie.

> "You have to be able to trust somebody. There are some people who are trying to get things for themselves but not very many. I'm not a real lonely person, I'm rarely confused. Knowing a

> lot about the army and the government, the government is not controlled by a small minority looking out for themselves. Some people don't know the difference between right and wrong but not most people; there is a definite difference. I don't agree that people tend to live only for now. I look to the future and lots of people look to the future."

Four of the young people in this subgroup indicated that the statement of pluralistic value disagreement was the least accurate. All four agreed that the problem with this understanding was its assumption that people are free to do their own thing.

> "I don't believe that people can do their own thing and keep going at it. Up to a point you can..."
>
> "People aren't free to do their own thing."
>
> "It's untrue that nobody will force you to do something you don't want to. At school you have to do the assignment and on the job you have to do it or get fired."

In most respects the unity-ambiguity subgroup is not unlike the young people who selected the patterned choices. Again there is the fundamental notion of trust and the ability to get along with others coupled with the strong rejection of the antithetical statement of full anomie. The distinguishing feature here is the comparatively stronger sense of ambivalence towards ambiguous qualities of social and cultural conditions. This is crystallized in the predominant selection of subcultural anomie as the second preferred statement for its reference to the problematic character of trust and to the difficult communication between young people and their parents.

The two cultural unity subgroups are thus essentially similar in their understandings, both with some reservations and ambivalence with regard to the qualities of unity. Some are more conscious of the ambiguity than others but virtually all are united in the rejection of the notion of full anomie.

Pluralistic Value Disagreement

For the young people who selected the statement of pluralistic value disagreement as the most accurate description of their subjective understanding of social and cultural conditions, the key element of the statement appeared to be the notion that people are pretty well free to do their thing and that people are basically tolerant and respect each other.

The following were some of the ways that these young people explained their choice.

> "Well it describes me I guess. People seem to let other people do what they want until it hurts them and it's been shown that we can get together when we want to."

> "Most people have their own ambition and have decided what they want to do....We have our freedom to decide and should have, as long as it doesn't hurt anyone."

> "People are good people. A person doesn't have to be forced into anything, he can do as he wants. Problems can be ironed out. People generally are friendly."

> "A lot of people are quite different and I haven't met any people who are downright bad. I respect the point of view of others."

> "People think about each other, they're free to do their own thing. People come first rather than politics, not like the communists."

Nevertheless, the young people in this category were mainly conscious of the limits to individual freedom and autonomy.

> "I agree with what it says, people should live the way they want to. But there are some things we have to go along with in order for our system to work....I'd like to emphasize that everyone needs to go along with the basic things."

> "...well people aren't completely free to do their own thing. Everyone seems to have the same moral limitations, they're just built right into you."

> "I don't know that I just want to do my own thing. I have to relate to other people so your own thing should coincide with society."

> "Sometimes you can't just do whatever you want."

There was no agreement among these young people on the extent to which the pluralistic value disagreement understanding is characteristic of people in general. Their estimates ranged considerably.

> "Most people, about 80 per cent, because they're open-minded."
>
> "Only about 30-40 per cent. Some people don't trust anyone and are just out for themselves."
>
> "About 60 per cent, from experience it seems to be the majority view."
>
> "About 30 per cent, there's a lot of weird people around."
>
> "Maybe about half; there will be those who have different values and don't agree with me."
>
> "Not very many because if more people felt this way they'd get out and see how other people are."
>
> "Most everybody."
>
> "30 per cent."
>
> "75 per cent."

The majority of the young people in this category selected the statement of cultural unity as their second choice citing the ability to plan for the future and the aspects of trust and the ability to depend on others as their reasons. Three of the young people selected the statement of subcultural anomie second and indicated their experience with the "generation gap" as their reason.

The following are some representative opinions. For cultural unity:

> "...because it says you can depend on people and I agree."
>
> "Society has lasted for 2000 years without falling to ruin yet. If you plan for the future, you're sure to make out okay."
>
> "Our society is changing but there's still a lot you can depend on. I do see a difference [between my view and cultural unity]

> regarding our ability to solve our problems as easy as our parents did, etc. It's not as easy anymore. We have some leftover problems our parents didn't solve plus our own."

> "I picked it [cultural unity] because I didn't like the other two choices."

For subcultural anomie:

> "There has always been a generation gap and always will be. Most kids, if there's any relationship at all, the gap is small and can be bridged. There isn't a major problem."

> "Young people and adults don't communicate."

When the respondents in this category were asked to select the statement which represented the least accurate description of their point of view, most chose the perspective of full anomie. However, the flat rejection of this point of view that characterized the young people in the cultural unity category, was replaced here by a criticism of the perspective for its substance.

> "If people always thought that others would be breaking the rules, many would and only a small proportion do."

> "People who see others doing wrong shouldn't do wrong if it's against their values."

> "My experience is that you can depend on most people."

> "I don't think that most people don't see the difference between right and wrong."

> "You can trust others and depend on at least some others. People are basically good."

Two of the young people in this category who failed to discover the pattern in their selections rejected the statement of cultural unity as the least accurate description of their understanding. Their objection was to the comparative optimistic idealism of that statement.

> "People are not basically good, there is a lot of evil. You can tell that by reading the papers every night. There's a lot of people out to get everything they can. It's a small percentage, but it's a very important percentage. You certainly can't trust everyone."

> "The card [cultural unity] describes a perfect society. It's not really like that."

By and large, the young people who selected the statement of pluralistic value disagreement and were so categorized for the analysis tended to have understandings which were pretty close to the ideas which theoretically define the category. They are aware of the differences and freedoms which this perspective implies while remaining conscious of the limitations which also exist in terms of the important values which must be commonly shared. Their general tendency to reject the expressions of subcultural or full anomie would indicate that they do see value differences as differences and not as problems. Which is how the paradigm predicts their definitions of social and cultural conditions.

Subcultural Anomie

Two predominant themes characterized the explanations of the twenty-two young people who selected the statement of subcultural anomie. A small majority of this group focused on the nature of differences which affect communication and interaction while the remainder picked up on. the illustration of the sometimes difficult communication between parents and their children and directed their elaborations toward the notion of the generation gap.

The problematic character of some interactions, principally those between groups, which from the paradigm defines subcultural anomie was primarily expressed in terms of the variable extent to which others can be trusted. Illustrative of these are the following.

> "There are lots of good people around and there are people who try to rip you off, but they can be tolerated, just leave them alone."
>
> "I picked it but I'd say it's [subcultural anomie] a bit too negative. But there seems to be a lot of people you can't trust."

> "There are two groups, the ones you can trust and the ones you can't. There are differences so vast in people that they cause conflict."

> "Society is divided into a couple of groups, part believe in one thing, part believe in another... [and] the generation gap does exist."

> "It [the statement of subcultural anomie] brought out generally what I think are problems. I've thought them before but never put them down like on here. Nowadays you can trust some people and you can't trust others."

> "It [subcultural anomie] seemed to make more sense, others conflicted with my point of view. There are many groups of people, there are problems. We're not united, we don't communicate. There are those you can't trust, for example, government or business."

One respondent expressed a similar theme but with a different focus.

> "I feel that people do tend to live in different worlds. A good example is the French-speaking Canadians and the English-speaking Canadians, they live in their own worlds....We all live in one world yet every community is different. They shouldn't all be identical but there should be some similar aspects too."

The generation gap was variously mentioned by the young people in this category.

> "There's people you can trust and people you can't trust all over, and you don't really communicate much any more with parents. Most of my friends are the same way."

> "You can trust some people, like your friends, others, no. People are just trying to be themselves, but no one understands. And I agree fully with the sentence 'Adults and young people live in different worlds.'"

> "There are those you can trust and those you can't trust. This card [subcultural anomie] represents a balanced view. Young people are misunderstood and want to establish their own identity."

> "Young people are trying to establish their own identity. There are few people who really care for others, most are out for number one. There are few people you can really trust."

Or finally, as one young person succinctly put it:

> "There are people you can't trust at all and there's nothing you can do with them."

This group was also divided over the extent of the understanding within society generally. Two-thirds associated the perspective almost exclusively with young people and estimated the proportion who would share it lower, at between 25 and 40 per cent. The remaining third interpreted this understanding more broadly, as characteristic of all groups and members of the society. The latter estimates ranged between 60 and 80 per cent.

An apparent difference within this category was the selection of a second choice. Eleven of the young people picked the statement of full anomie while eight selected the statement of pluralistic value disagreement. That these statements do represent a continuum was revealed, however, by the consideration of the reasons offered for the second choices. Most of the young people indicated variations on the theme of trust, those who selected pluralistic value disagreement holding it second because it was comparatively optimistic, while full anomie was considered to be too pessimistic.

Some of the explanations for selecting pluralistic value disagreements are indicated.

> "Oh most people are fairly easygoing and they're not radicals so they wouldn't disagree with this. But I guess I don't think things are that easygoing, that things are that nice."
>
> "[I picked it second] 'cause it wasn't as good as card number two [subcultural anomie]."
>
> "I feel like I have this feeling too, but not as much as the other one."
>
> "Too optimistic a point of view. That's about it."

From those who selected full anomie as their second choice, the explanations took the same form with the opposite content.

> "The statement here is true, I find it very true. Like anyone would get what he wants at the price of others...they get what they want and they put a price on everything. But there's a few people who think that there are other things than money."

> "People are just out for themselves. I don't think you can really trust people too far, but you can trust some."

> "I don't think people are really lonely and confused like it says."

> "[I picked it] mainly because it matches a lot of my experiences. I often feel confused."

> "It's true too, but there's more I agree with in B2 [subcultural anomie]."

Of the three random selections, all indicated cultural unity as the second choice. The principal concern was again for the factor of trust. One respondent was very direct:

> "Trust, yes, but not to trust everyone as implied."

Another respondent explained his random selection this way.

> "B2 [subcultural anomie] covered the view more fully. B3 [cultural unity] is more general than B2 and does not say as much. It's similar to B2 but just not said as well, it's not as definite."

Not at all surprisingly, most of the young people who had selected the statement of subcultural anomie as being the closest to their point of view also indicated that the statement of cultural unity was the least accurate description of their understanding. If there is one word to capture their sentiments here it is "unrealistic."

> "Its unrealistic. People don't get along that well, they're not dependable."

> "I disagree that people are pretty dependable, that people get along well, that you can solve problems."

> "Just 'cause one generation can solve its problems doesn't mean the next one can. And I don't think everyone is trustworthy."

> "I don't think things are that easy. It makes everything sound so goody-goody."

> "I don't think you can overcome most problems. There's not a lot you can depend on."

> "It doesn't comply with me at all. I disagree that people in

> our society get along quite well and that you can trust them. But just about 75 per cent would agree with it because society is stupid."
>
> "It gave me the impression that people get along so well and its exactly the opposite. Things are falling apart."
>
> "I don't think there's many people who have this security [cultural unity]. I don't feel I do."

The category of subcultural anomie is defined by the paradigm as the quality of social and cultural conditions where value disagreements are sufficient to disrupt interaction, especially as between groups. In the meanings attached to this perspective by the young people, this concept is most apparent. In their concern for trust and dependability, the notion that you can only trust or depend on some but not others, they give evidence to disrupted and problematic interactions. You can get along with your friends, but there are groups you have difficulty with or are unable to get along with at all. That value disagreements disrupt interaction between young people and their parents is a significant case in point. Intergenerational conflict and problematic interaction is such a large theme here that two-thirds of the respondents in this category feel that the quality of socio-cultural conditions so described in almost exclusively an experience of young people.

Full Anomie

For the nineteen respondents who selected the statement of full anomie for their first choice, two aspects of the prepared statement seemed to be of particular interest. These were the notion that norms controlling behavior were either absent or widely disregarded and the idea that for most people, getting ahead is the important thing, particularly economic achievement, and that there is little regard for how this is done or who might suffer for it.

Not unpredictably, the explanations which were given by the young people in the full anomie category tended as a whole to have the most negative phrasing of any offered by the young people. The following are quite representative.

> "I saw all the others [statements] and I didn't agree with most of the things they said, but number 4 [full anomie], I agreed with a lot of it. You see people breaking the rules, and why can't you; the way to get up is to make as much as you can, not how you do it. And this part, 'no one really thinks about their future or anyone else's future,' that's a good one."

> "It's true. Getting ahead is judged by how far you got and nobody cares how you got there. Too often you talk to someone and then when you turn your back he let's you have it."

> "Nowadays people don't care, they just look out for themselves. They're not concerned about friends."

> "People are out to get everything they can in whatever way they can."

> "In today's world people are just trying to get what they want, they don't care if they rip you off or not as long as they get what they want. Seems like that's how it is nowadays."

> "Most people don't see the difference between right and wrong. People are out after what they can get."

> "Everyone is out to make a buck, especially my boss."

> "Success is measured by ends, not means. My experience in my work is the basis for this feeling."

> "People are selfish, greedy, ripping-off society. Nobody really cares, they only worry about themselves."

> "People don't trust others and you can't trust society. Every man for himself."

> "People don't know what to believe."

When the young people here were asked if there were any important differences between the prepared statement and their own point of view, only four were willing to fully accept the statement as presented. The remainder qualified and moderated their earlier comments. This verifies the continuum which is theoretically understood to underlie the four categories. The differences which were identified ranged over the whole statement, all modified the perspective. Concerning planning for the future:

> "I think there are some individuals and groups who think about the future."
>
> "People do think about the future."
>
> "People do plan for the future."
>
> "People think about their own future, but not about others."

About trusting others:

> "In the first line, 'they really can't trust others.' It depends who it is. A lot of others you can't depend on but a lot you can."
>
> "There are people who trust other people."

About feeling lonely and confused:

> "People are not that lonely or confused."
>
> "I don't feel lonely or confused about it as it states."

Some of the young people who selected the statement of full anomie felt that on balance the prepared statement was simply too negative and added some element of hope.

> "Well I guess I'm a little optimistic. There are some good things. There are some people you can depend on."
>
> "There are always differences, not all people are like that."
>
> "This [statement] is a little too bleak, there's always glimmers of hope. I don't think all people are out for what they can get, some are concerned with others."
>
> "I'm not so pessimistic, there still are good things."
>
> "People are trying to overcome the problems of everyone trying to get the most for himself."
>
> "I think there are some people who are trying to overcome the problems."

Unlike those selecting subcultural anomie, the young people in this category were mainly convinced that the perspective which is here called full anomie was shared by a substantial majority of people in general. For over three-quarters of them, the estimates ranged from half of the population to one estimate of everyone. The modal proportion was about 65 per cent. This suggests a significant difference between the subcultural and full anomie categories. For those young people who define social and cultural conditions as subcultural anomie, the conditions are understood as fundamentally affecting youth. For those who experience full anomie, the understanding is that this is a pervasive and generalized condition which characterizes all aspects of society.

For their second choice, fourteen of the young people in this category selected the statement of subcultural anomie. This was explained in both specific and general terms. Specifically, many were attracted to the notions of generation gap and that there are some people you can trust while there are others who cannot be trusted or depended on. More generally, the statement of subcultural anomie was found to contain many of the same elements but failed to provide the same emphasis. Two comments illustrate this point.

> "It [subcultural anomie] stresses that people or their ideas are different and these differences can lead to problems. The first one [full anomie] stresses more bleakenss and this one misses the bleakness, but [full anomie] is more defined, clearer, and it's overall closer to my views than [subcultural anomie]."

> "It's [subcultural anomie] about the next closest to [full anomie]. It's the in-between one, not so radical. But it [subcultural anomie] leans too far back toward the dependable, more towards say [cultural unity]. It seems unrealistic, too good."

Three of the five young people in the full anomie category who failed to recover the pattern in their selections picked the statement of pluralistic value disagreement second. In explanation, they cited the element of people being free to do their own thing. The remaining two respondents picked cultural unity, but in their explanations would only cite the inaccuracies of the statement so that the basis for their selection is unclear.

When they were asked which statement was the least accurate description of their point of view, as expected, the great majority of the young people in this category selected cultural unity. In their explanations, some mentioned particular problems with the perspective while others were more general in their rejection.

> "Most people don't live by the rules."
>
> "I've worked in a lot of places and seen a lot of people. I know there's a lot of people you can't depend on."
>
> "The first statement, all people are dependable and get along well, is a living contradiction. We've got wars, murder, crime, etc. It's off, not right."
>
> "There are problems that society can't solve."
>
> "There's not really a lot you can depend on. In the future you never know what's going to be there or what there'll be to do."
>
> "I don't think people get along quite as well as it says. There is really trouble between them. It seems unrealistic."
>
> "It seemed like this is a society that everyone would want to live in, [but] most people know what's going on around."
>
> "It's too dreamy, unrealistic, too positive a picture of the way things really are."
>
> "It's just not real. A lot of people would like it to be like this but it's not. There just aren't very many people you can trust."
>
> "This one is really too optimistic. I mean you just have to read the newspapers to know it's unreal."
>
> "It turns my stomach! It's so off from what my ideas are. 'Plan for the future, get what you want,' right now there's no way!"

Three respondents selected the statement of subcultural anomie as the least accurate description offering the explanation that they were attempting to communicate with others and this would suggest that they couldn't.

The young people in this category then are in sum, not unlike the original expectation. They are conscious of a general inability to trust or depend on others, a widespread disregard for rules, and others predominantly interested in their own success or concerns without regard for the consequences to others. This would indicate the severely weakened plausibility structures which characterize full anomie. That the young people in this category, did, however, moderate the understanding of the prepared statement to soften its negativism, would indicate that they are not fully demoralized by these conditions. This too is consistent with the theoretical expectations for conditions of full anomie are understood as intolerable. The qualifications added to the prepared statement would thus indicate some adjustments having been made to reestablish an adequate plausibility structure.

Summary

The interpretive substantiations of the categories by the young people are seen as verifying the categories. The discovery of the underlying continuum was revealed in the pattern of the respondents selections. Their substantive explanations further indicate an awareness of the variable range of ideas and understandings and suggest that for the most part their selection of the categories was done in consideration of the relation between them.

Their explanations also indicate a recognition of the ideas represented in the four statements. From their interpretations it is inferred

That a comparatively close approximation exists between the prepared statements and the actual, subjective definitions of the young people. Thus, on the basis of these qualitative data and the earlier validity tests, the decision to accept the validity of categories is not unjustified. However, in the subsequent analysis, few of the observed relationships were found to be statistically significant and in several instances the patterns indicated greater similarities between the theoretically extreme categories. The implications of these subsequent findings for the validity of the categories and the underlying theoretical continuum are discussed in the conclusions chapter.

DEFINITIONS AND INDIVIDUAL SOCIAL SITUATIONS

Introduction

The first general hypothesis predicted that there would be significant association between indicators of individual social situation and the categories of subjective definition of socio-cultural conditions. The indicators employed included measures of age, place of birth, residence, student status, employment status, personal finances, religion, parental socio-economic status, ethnicity, family size, parents status, measures of family independence and family relations, and finally access to use of a car. This section investigates the relationships between these indicators and the categories of subjective definitions.

Age

It was expected that the older respondents would be more likely to select the definitions of subcultural and full anomie. This was predicated on the understanding that these "older" respondents would have had a greater experience with the conflicting cultural expectations for young people and with the generally ambiguous status of youth.

As shown in table 5:7, such a pattern of association between respondents' age and definition of socio-cultural conditions was observed with a disproportionately high number of younger respondents selecting cultural unity or pluralistic value disagreement while a greater proportion of the seventeen-year-olds selected subcultural anomie and a disproportionately large number of 18 and 19 year-olds selected full anomie.

Table 5:7. Age by Subjective Definitions.

Subjective Definition	Age Group 16	17	18-19	Sample Totals
	N= 27 %	N= 37 %	N= 16 %	N= 80 %
Cultural Unity:	41	35	19	34
Pluralistic Value Disagreement:	26	8	13	15
Subcultural Anomie:	19	35	25	28
Full Anomie:	15	22	44	24
	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 10.151$, $p > .05$

However, the observed relationship failed to be significant at the 0.05 level and the hypothesis was rejected.

Place of Birth

As shown in table A:1 of Appendix D, there was no pattern of association between place of birth and selection of definition of socio-cultural conditions.

Residence

Of the eighty respondents, 88 per cent resided in Red Deer and 91 per cent lived in a single family home. There were no observed differences in selection of definitions by these indicators.[8] Only one respondent was not residing with the parental family at the time of the interview so this relationship was not tested. Parenthetically, it might be noted that this single individual selected the subjective definition of full anomie as might have been predicted by the hypothesis.

Student Status

Of the eighty young people in the sample, 76 were attending school at the time of the study, 70 of them as full-time students. The numbers of part-time and non-students were too small then to test for a relationship between school attendance and subjective definitions.

There was an over-proportion of students from the separate high school included in the half of the sample which selected either cultural unity or pluralistic value disagreement, while a disproportionately larger number of students from the public high school selected subcultural or full anomie. However, the association was not found to be statistically significant.[9]

An over-representation of respondents from grade twelve was observed to be associated with the selection of full anomie while an over-representation of grade ten and eleven students was associated with the selection of subcultural anomie. The distribution of choices for cultural unity and pluralistic value disagreements follows the sample norms.[10] While the observed distribution is not statistically significant, there is a slight pattern indicated where the more experienced students who apprehend weakening plausibility structures are more likely to define the conditions as full anomie while the experiences of the less experienced students are more likely to lead to definitions of subcultural anomie. This parallels the non-significant relationship observed between age and selection of subjective definition.

The traditional academic core of the high school is its matriculation program. With the school providing the structure for so much of the life-situation of the student, it was expected that respondents in non-matriculation programs would be more likely to express subjective definitions of anomie. This expectation was based on two assumptions, first that the non-matriculation students might experience greater role ambiguity because of their comparatively less traditionally preferable academic status, and second, that those students generally not intending post secondary education and thus more immediately contemplating the end of their dependent status would be more conscious of the conflicting and ambiguous cultural expectations that generally define youth. It was thus predicted that for the non-matriculation students, generally, the dominant plausibility structures would be apprehended as characteristically weaker.

As shown in table 5:8, something of this pattern was observed in the sample. The self-defined matriculation students showed a greater tendency to select categories other than full anomie while there is an over proportion of general students selecting full anomie. The over proportion of vocational students who indicated subjective definitions of pluralistic value disagreement might be explained in terms of more settled career plans but this was not tested because of the small numbers involved.

The observed relationship fails to meet the criteria of statistical significance, however, and the hypothesis cannot be accepted.

Table 5:8. Program of Study by Subjective Definition.

Subjective Definition	Program of Study			Sample Totals
	Matriculation	General	Vocational	
	N= 48 %	N= 22 %	N= 10 %	N= 80 %
Cultural Unity:	38	27	30	34
Pluralistic Value Disagreement:	17	5	30	15
Subcultural Anomie:	29	27	20	28
Full Anomie:	17	41	20	24
	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 7.761,\ p > .05$

Employment Status

None of the variables measured relating to employment status were significantly associated with the subjective definitions of sociocultural conditions. Subject to this caveat, two interesting observations may be made. First it was noted that respondents with jobs showed a slight preference for selecting the statement indicating full anomie, and second, the likelihood that a young person would select one of the definitions of anomie appears to increase slightly with the length of time worked. While it is emphasized that neither of these observed patterns was sufficient for statistical significance, two factors might be suggested to operate here. Two aspects of the characteristic work-experience of students which would contribute to a weakening of plausibility structures are the relative inferior occupational status which students typically enjoy and the greater confrontation by the status ambiguity of youth.[11]

Personal Finances

Three variables were measured as an indicator of personal finances--employment income, spending money, and savings. It was hypothesized that greater personal finances would be related to definitions of cultural unity and pluralistic value disagreements while fewer personal financial resources would be associated with definitions of subcultural and full anomie. It is acknowledged here that money represents a power resource which enables not only more extensive social participation but also greater control over the nature of social participation. Greater control over both the form and extent of social participation were reasoned to decrease the probability that an individual would apprehend social and cultural conditions of anomie.

There was no relationship observed in the data for subjective definitions and employment income. A slight association was observed between definitions and the respondent's reported weekly spending money and personal savings. As shown in tables 5:9 and 5:10 respectively, subjective definitions of full anomie are more associated with greater weekly spending money and definitions of subcultural anomie are disproportionately associated with comparatively less savings.

Neither relationship is statistically significant and the hypothesis is rejected. Further, the observed patterns would suggest that the hypothesis was in error in its prediction of the direction of the relationship. Rather, to the extent that subjective definitions of cultural unity and pluralistic value disagreement are slightly associated with a likelihood of less spending and greater saving, these data are more consistent with the interpretation that patterns of spending and saving are a function of the individual's experience of social and cultural conditions.[12]

Table 5:9. Spending Money by Subjective Definition.

Subjective Definition	Spending Money Per Week		Sample Totals
	$20 or less	More than $20	
	N= 42 %	N= 38 %	N= 80 %
Cultural Unity:	36	32	34
Pluralistic Value Disagreement:	19	11	15
Subcultural Anomie:	33	21	28
Full Anomie:	12	37	24
	100	100	100

$X^2 = 7.400,\ p > .05$

Religious Preference

Religion, according to Peter Berger, has been historically one of the most potent sources of legitimation for the nomos.[13] In spite of the general decline of religious plausibility structures with the rise of rationality in the western world, there was reason to predict that religion continues as a strong legitimating power in Canadian society.[14]

Therefore it was expected that strong religious beliefs would be associated with definitions of cultural unity and pluralistic value

Table 5:10. Savings by Subjective Definitions.

Subjective Definition	Personal Savings		Sample Totals
	$500 or less	More than $500	
	N= 46 %	N= 31 %	N= 77* %
Cultural Unity:	30	42	35
Pluralistic Value Disagreement:	11	19	14
Subcultural Anomie:	35	13	26
Full Anomie:	24	26	25
	100	100	100

$X^2 = 5.083,\ p > .05$

* Three respondents did not answer the question.

disagreement. Two measures of individual religion were employed, denominational preference and the frequency of church attendance.

However, neither the observed relationship of church preference and subjective definitions nor the cross-tabulation of attendance at religious services by category of definition was statistically significant. The hypothesis was therefore rejected and it was concluded that religion was not a factor in determination of subjective definitions for the young people in the sample.[15]

Parental Socio-Economic Status

The literature of anomie research as reviewed in chapter II is nearly unanimous on one finding, that the experience of anomie is inversely correlated with socio-economic status. This is particularly true of research employing the Srole anomia scale.

As reported earlier in this chapter in assessing the validity of the measure of subjective definitions, it was expected that definitions of subcultural and full anomie would be significantly associated with higher scores for anomia. This was observed. It was also expected that subjective definitions of subcultural and full anomie will be associated with lower parental socio-economic status. Parental socio-economic status was indicated by a four item Likert scale which combined measured father's occupation, mother's education, father's education and total family income as explained in chapter IV. The scores range from a possible low score of 6 through a high of 54.

The test of this hypothesis is shown in table 5:11. Unexpectedly, the only subgroup mean which was lower than the mean socio-economic status score for the total sample was associated with the subjective definition of cultural unity. The relationship between the remaining three subgroups was as expected with the young people selecting pluralistic value disagreement having the highest mean score and the full anomie subgroup the lowest of the three. With the variance between the four groups found to be significant at the 0.05 level, this left the low mean score for the cultural unity subgroup to be explained. Attention was therefore given to the four items which comprise the scale. Two of these, father's occupation and total family income were found to be significantly associated with the categories of subjective definitions. These data are shown in tables 5:12 and 5:13.[16]

Several patterns emerge from these cross tabulations. The young people who identified cultural unity as the most accurate description of their subjective definitions of social and cultural conditions are drawn in disproportionately large numbers from middle income families

Table 5:11. Mean Scores for Parental Socio-Economic Status by Subjective Definitions.

Category of Subjective Definition				
C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	Total Sample
$\bar{X}$=28.27 s=4.51 n=26	$\bar{X}$=34.55 s=7.02 n=11	$\bar{X}$=31.55 s=6.88 n=20	$\bar{X}$=31.39 s=4.22 n=18	$\bar{X}$=30.81 s=5.82 n=75*

F= 3.63, $p < .05$**

* Five respondents failed to answer one or more of the questions.

** The analysis of paired comparisons between the means indicated that the only significant difference between pairs was between the cultural unity subgroup and pluralistic value disagreement. The difference between subcultural and full anomie and cultural unity, is not statistically significant.

where the father holds a service occupation. As expected, the large proportion of the pluralistic value disagreement category have fathers with executive or professional occupations and higher income family backgrounds. But individuals with this background are also disproportionately found in the subcultural anomie subgroup. The young people who selected the statement of full anomie, much like the cultural unity subgroup, are more likely drawn from middle income families with a disproportionate number of them having fathers in skilled labor occupations. The overall pattern tends to suggest then that in lower socio-economic statuses, the preferred choices are cultural unity or full anomie while for the higher socio-economic statuses, the choices are more frequently between pluralistic value disagreement and subcultural anomie. There are, however, exceptions in the data to this pattern, the comparatively high proportion of young people from lower income families who selected the statement of subcultural anomie and the near proportionate number of respondents from higher income families who selected the statement of

Table 5:12. Fathers' Occupations by Subjective Definitions.

Subjective Definition	Fathers' Occupation Unskilled/ Semi-Skilled	Service	Skilled	White Collar	Executive/ Professional	Sample Totals
	N= 9	N= 19	N= 21	N= 11	N= 18	N= 78*
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Cultural Unity:	33	58	24	45	11	33
Pluralistic Value Disagreement:	-	11	19	-	33	15
Subcultural Anomie:	44	16	19	18	44	27
Full Anomie:	22	16	38	36	11	24
	100	100	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 23.396, p < .05$

* Two respondents failed to answer the question.

full anomie.[17]

Within the limitations of the data available, a variety of alternative *ex post facto* explanations were advanced and tested without further insight being gained to the unusual relationship. The only conclusion that seemed possible was that the association of social class and anomie was certainly more complex than has been understood.

One final approach towards explanation of the observed patterns was based on the original hypothesis which, as stated in chapter III, had predicted a relationship between two categories of subjective definitions,

Table 5:13. Total Family Income by Subjective Definition.

Subjective Definition	Total Family Income: Less than $14,000	$14,000 to $19,999	Over $20,000	Sample Totals
	N= 16	N= 33	N= 24	N= 78*
	%	%	%	%
Cultural Unity:	38	45	21	35
Pluralistic Value Disagreement:	6	12	21	14
Subcultural Anomie:	50	9	38	28
Full Anomie:	6	33	21	23
	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 15.948,\ p < .05$

* Two respondents failed to answer the question.

those which did not recognize anomic qualities of socio-cultural conditions (cultural unity and pluralistic value disagreement) and those definitions which did (subcultural and full anomie). Respondents' scores were thus combined into two appropriate categories and an F-test for an analysis of variance applied. The results are shown in table 5:14.

Table 5:14. Mean Scores for Parental Socio-Economic Status by Subjective Definitions (Collapsed Categories).

Category of Subjective Definition: C.U./P.V.D.	S.A./F.A.	Total Sample
$\bar{X}=30.14$ $s=5.99$ $n=37$	$\bar{X}=31.47$ $s=5.70$ $n=38$	$\bar{X}=30.81$ $s=5.82$ $n=75$*

$F= 0.98,\ p > .05$

* Five respondents failed to answer one or more questions.

The test of the hypothesis by collapsing the categories within each side of the continuum, indicates that in general there is no relation between these inclusive categories of subjective definitions of socio-cultural conditions and the measure of parental socio-economic status.

The substantive hypothesis is therefore rejected. And the relationship of socio-economic status to subjective definitions of socio-cultural conditions may be more precisely stated as it obtains in this study. In general, socio-economic status is not a variable relating to whether or not the young person experiences conditions of anomie. However, socio-economic status would appear to be an important variable in relation to how the specific conditions apprehended are interpreted.

For young people who apprehend conditions of anomie, lower socio-economic status young people are more likely to define these conditions as full anomie while those of higher socio-economic status are more likely to hold subjective definitions of subcultural anomie. Similarly, higher status respondents who apprehend no anomie are most likely to define these conditions as pluralistic value disagreement and lower status young people are more inclined to define these conditions as cultural unity.

Thus, the understanding of the relationship between socio-economic status and subjective definitions has two aspects, (1) there is no relation between socio-economic status and the general apprehension of socio-cultural conditions (vide Table 5:14), but (2) once these conditions have been apprehended, there is a greater likelihood that respondents indicating lower socio-economic status groups will select definitions drawn from the extremes of the theoretical continuum of possibilities while higher socio-economic status groups will more likely favor intermediate definitions (vide Table 5:11, especially C.U. and P.V.D.).

Ethnicity

No significant relationship or pattern of association was observed between subjective definitions and ethnicity indicated by parents' birthplace.[18]

Family Size

Both family size as indicated by the number of children and respondents' birth-order were tested as possible variables in individual social situations which might be associated with subjective definitions. No patterns or relationships were observed and it is concluded that these are not relevant factors.[19]

Status of Natural Parents

There is no association in the sample between the respondents' definition of social and cultural conditions and whether his parents were living and together or whether they were divorced, separated or deceased.

Family Independence

The measure of family independence is a five-item scale which indicates a generalized autonomy in relation to parents and the parental family. Respondents with higher scores tend to perceive themselves as coming from families which are comparatively less closely united, as consulting less with parents and as being less concerned about living up to parental expectations.

As shown in table 5:15, there is a statistically non-significant pattern in the sample with the pluralistic value disagreement and subcultural anomie subgroups having higher mean scores for the family independence scale. Only one of the five scale items, as presented in table 5:16, effectively discriminated among the four subgroups with the same pattern obtaining. Respondents in the pluralistic value disagreement and subcultural anomie subgroups admit to a greater likelihood of becoming absorbed in some activity to the extent that they could lose interest in their family.

The similarities between this observation and the patterning of indicators of socio-economic status prompted a further testing of these relationships with controls for parental S.E.S. However, when this was done, the observed patterns remained.[20]

Thus, while the relationships are not conclusive, there is the suggestion in the sample that for respondents apprehending an absence of anomic conditions, those with greater autonomy vis-à-vis the parental family are more likely to define socio-cultural conditions as pluralistic value disagreement, while those respondents reporting greater dependence on family are more likely to select definitions of cultural unity. Conversely, for those young people apprehending conditions of anomie, those with higher scores for family independence are more likely to select definitions of subcultural anomie while those who would see themselves as less autonomous are more inclined to define social and cultural conditions as full anomie. In general, respondents with the comparative security of a more unified family are more inclined to select extreme definitions of socio-cultural conditions.

Parenthetically, it is interesting to note that the subgroup with the most explicit apprehension of inter-generational conflict, the young people who selected definitions of subcultural anomie, are also the subgroup which would define itself as least independent of the parental family.

Table 5:15. Mean Scores for Family Independence by Subjective Definitions.

Category of Subjective Definition				
C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	Total Sample
$\bar{X}=10.48$ $s=2.41$ $n=27$	$\bar{X}=12.00$ $s=3.32$ $n=11$	$\bar{X}=11.45$ $s=3.89$ $n=22$	$\bar{X}=10.63$ $s=2.19$ $n=19$	$\bar{X}=11.00$ $s=2.96$ $n=79$*

$F= 0.95$, $p > .05$

* One respondent failed to answer one item.

Table 5:16. Family Independence Scale Items by Subjective Definitions.

Item	Subjective Definition				Sample Totals
	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	
	n=27 %	n=12 %	n=22 %	n=19 %	n=80 %
Important to satisfy parents' wishes: Moderately/not very[a]	19	33	18	16	20
Consult parents on personal decisions: Occasionally/rarely[b]	41	58	46	26	41
Lose interest in family while absorbed in other activity: Some probability/quite possible[c]	26	42	50	11	31
Growing closer to or further away from family: Slightly/much further away[d]	33	46*	59	42	44**
Dependent on or independent of parents: Somewhat/very independent[e]	48	58	37	42	45

* One respondent failed to answer, n=11.
** One respondent failed to answer, n=79.

a. $X^2_2=1.626$, $p > .05$
b. $X^2_2=3.357$, $p > .05$
c. $X^2_2=8.360$, $p < .05$
d. $X^2_2=3.310$, $p > .05$
e. $X^2=1.697$, $p > .05$

Family Relations

The composite measure of family relations is comprised of four sub-scales, measures of closeness to father, closeness to mother, parental reasoning with the son, and parental punitiveness.

As shown in table 5:17, contrary to the hypothesis, no statistically significant differences exist in the sample between the young people who apprehend anomic qualities of socio-cultural conditions and those who do not. However, such differences as do exist are all in the direction predicated by the hypothesis. More positive family relations generally characterize the individual social situation of respondents who selected definitions of cultural unity or pluralistic value disagreement. This pattern is particularly indicated by the comparatively high mean scores for this subgroup on two of the sub-scales, the measures of closeness to mother and parental reasoning with the son.

An analysis of individual scale items is presented in table 5:18. From this analysis, several interesting observations may be made, however, these must be regarded with caution for, with one exception, none of the observed relationships meet the criterion of statistical significance.[21]

The items by which the young people rated their "closeness to father" show that while a small majority of both groups would like to be a person like their father, respondents selecting definitions of cultural unity or pluralistic value disagreement were more likely to participate in shared activities with their father and a greater proportion of this group rated their relationship as quite or extremely close. Conversely, while about a third of the sample over-all indicated that they wanted more affection than they received from their fathers, this proportion was

Table 5:17. Mean Scores for Family Relations Scales by Subjective Definitions (Collapsed Categories).

Family Relations Scales	Subjective Definitions		Total Sample
	C.U./P.V.D.	S.A./F.A.	
"Closeness to Father" (4 items)	$\bar{X}$=14.32 s=3.24 n=37*	$\bar{X}$=14.15 s=3.07 n=41	$\bar{X}$=14.23 s=3.11 n=78*
	F= 0.06, $p > .05$		
"Closeness to Mother" (3 items)	$\bar{X}$=11.84 s=1.50 n=38**	$\bar{X}$=11.12 s=1.79 n=41	$\bar{X}$=11.47 s=1.68 n=79**
	F= 3.72, $p > .05$		
"Parental Reasoning with Son" (4 items)	$\bar{X}$=15.03 s=2.80 n=39	$\bar{X}$=13.95 s=2.77 n=41	$\bar{X}$=14.48 s=2.80 n=80
	F= 2.99, $p > .05$		
"Parental Punitiveness"	$\bar{X}$=40.51 s=4.68 n=39	$\bar{X}$=39.76 s=4.79 n=41	$\bar{X}$=40.13 s=4.69 n=80
	F= 0.51, $p > .05$		
COMPOSITE MEASURE OF FAMILY RELATIONS (21 items)	$\bar{X}$=38.74 s=4.45 n=39	$\bar{X}$=37.54 s=4.38 n=41	$\bar{X}$=38.13 s=4.40 n=80
	F= 1.50, $p > .05$		

* Two persons not responding to one item.
** One person not responding to one item.

smaller for those young people who defined social and cultural conditions as including qualities of anomie. However, as shown in table 5:17, the differences between the two subgroups on the four-item measure are negligible.

Greater differences were observed on the young people's ratings of their "closeness to mother." None of the respondents who had selected cultural unity or pluralistic value disagreements indicated a desire for

Table 5:18. Family Relations Scale Items by Subjective Definitions (Collapsed Categories).

Scale Item	Subjective Definition		Sample Totals	(Probability)
	CU/PVD	SA/FA		
	n=39	n=41	n=80	
"Closeness to Father"	%	%	%	
Wanted more affection than received:	39	29	34	$(X^2=0.400; p>.05)$
Activities together once a week or more:	53*	42	48*	$(X^2=0.590; p>.05)$
Extremely or quite close to father:	78**	63	71**	$(X^2=1.437; p>.05)$
Wants to be very much/somewhat like father:	58*	60	58*	$(X^2=0.029; p>.05)$
"Closeness to Mother"				
Wanted more affection than received:	-	15	8	$(X^2=4.113; p<.05)$
Extremely or quite close to mother:	90*	73	81*	$(X^2=3.774; p>.05)$
Wants very much/somewhat to be person like mother:	64	51	58	$(X^2=0.881; p>.05)$
"Reasoning with Son"				
Son has considerable/great deal of influence in family decisions:	51	49	50	$(X^2=0.000; p>.05)$
Parents always/often talk over decisions with son:	49	39	44	$(X^2=0.420; p>.05)$
Parents always/often listen to son's side of argument:	72	54	63	$(X^2=2.085; p>.05)$
Parents always/often reasonable in demands:	82	73	78	$(X^2=0.466; p>.05)$
"Parental Punitiveness"				
Parents never ignore son when he has done something wrong:	41	27	34	$(X^2=1.223; p>.05)$

* One respondent failed to answer the question.

** Two respondents failed to answer the question.

Table 5:18. Family Relations Scale Items by Subjective Definitions (Collapsed Categories) (continued).

	Subjective Definition			
Scale Item	CU/PVD	SA/FA	Sample Totals	(Probability)
	n=39	n=41	n=80	
	%	%	%	
"Parental Punitiveness" (continued)				
Parents never act as if they don't care about son:	62	49	55	$(X^2=0.850;p>.05)$
Parents never disagree about raising son:	31	24	28	$(X^2=0.041;p>.05)$
Parents never actually slap son:	74	68	71	$(X^2=0.124;p>.05)$
Parents never take away privileges:	36	56	46	$(X^2=2.519;p>.05)$
Parents never/seldom criticize son when not deserved:	74	59	66	$(X^2=1.586;p>.05)$
Parents never threaten to slap son:	46	46	46	$(X^2=0.043;p>.05)$
Parents never/seldom yell or shout at son:	54	49	51	$(X^2=0.053;p>.05)$
Parents never disagree about punishing son:	39	32	35	$(X^2=0.059;p>.05)$
Parents never/seldom nag at son:	40	37	39	$(X^2=0.032;p>.05)$

more affection than was actually received while a proportion of respondents selecting subcultural or full anomie did. A greater proportion of both groups rated their relationship with their mother as close than similarly rated the relationship with their father. Comparatively fewer young people in the subcultural or full anomie subgroup, however, reported a close relationship with their mother or indicated a desire to be like the kind of person their mother is. Over-all, the scale scores for the subcultural/full anomie subgroup were appreciably lower, just failing to meet the criterion of statistical significance.

On all four items indicating parental reasoning with the son, the ratings of the subcultural/full anomie subgroup were consistently less positive. The greatest difference between the subgroups is found in the reported greater willingness of parents of young people defining socio-cultural conditions as cultural unity or pluralistic value disagreement to consider their son's side of an argument. However, while the difference in the mean scale scores is apparent, it also fails to meet the criterion of statistical significance.

Ten items in the composite measure of family relations comprise a sub-scale of parental punitiveness. Here the young people were asked to rate their parents' practices on various dimensions of disciplinary behaviour. As indicated by the data reported in table 5:18, the parents of young people in the sample defining socio-cultural conditions as including anomic qualities were consistently rated as more punitive in their disciplinary practices with one notable exception. The young people who defined social and cultural conditions as cultural unity or pluralistic value disagreement reported in greater number the willingness of their parents to employ the suspension of privileges as a disciplinary mode while respondents selecting definitions of subcultural or full anomie indicated that their parents were less willing to do so.

As the data would suggest, the young people in the subgroup characterized by subjective definitions of social and cultural reality which do not include the apprehension of anomie, rate their family relations as more positive. Although this is as predicted, the observed differences are insufficient for the acceptance of the hypothesis and it is therefore rejected. Nevertheless, the data would appear to encourage further consideration of the relation between family background variables and apprehension of social and cultural realities in subsequent research.

Further insights are provided to the present data when the family relations scale scores are analyzed by further partialing over the four categories of subjective definition. As shown in table 5:19, what emerges when this is done is a pattern not unlike that observed in the analysis of the relation between parental socio-economic status and subjective definitions. In this instance, respondents selecting either definitions of cultural unity or full anomie rated their family relations more positively on all four subscales while the remaining young people, and here particularly those selecting definitions of subcultural anomie, rated theirs comparatively less positive.

Since the mean scores observed here resemble the distribution of parental socio-economic status scores in the sample, this analysis was repeated with controls for SES. As shown in table 5:20, the introduction of controls for parental SES failed to eliminate or alter the association between subjective definitions and the composite measure of family relations.

Analysis of the mean scores contained in table 5:19 by paired comparisons further clarifies the observed pattern. Of particular interest are the mean scores for those young people who selected subjective definitions of subcultural anomie. While no significant differences exist between the mean scores for "closeness to father," mean scores for respondents selecting subcultural anomie were significantly lower than those for those selecting cultural unity for the sub-scale, "closeness

Table 5:19. Mean Scores for Family Relations Scales by Subjective Definitions (Four Categories).

"Closeness to Father"				
$\bar{X}$=14.41	$\bar{X}$=14.10	$\bar{X}$=13.55	$\bar{X}$=14.84	$\bar{X}$=14.23
s=3.14	s=3.67	s=3.67	s=2.06	s=3.11
n=27	n=10*	n=22	n=19	n=78*
		F= 0.62, p >.05		
"Closeness to Mother"				
$\bar{X}$=12.07	$\bar{X}$=11.27	$\bar{X}$=11.00	$\bar{X}$=11.26	$\bar{X}$=11.47
s=1.27	s=1.50	s=2.25	s=1.09	s=1.68
n=27	n=11**	n=22	n=19	n=79**
		F= 1.94, p >.05		
"Parental Reasoning"				
$\bar{X}$=15.26	$\bar{X}$=14.50	$\bar{X}$=13.14	$\bar{X}$=14.89	$\bar{X}$=14.48
s=2.40	s=3.61	s=2.80	s=2.47	s=2.80
n=27	n=12	n=22	n=19	n=80
		F= 2.66, p >.05		
"Parental Punitiveness"				
$\bar{X}$=41.00	$\bar{X}$=39.42	$\bar{X}$=38.41	$\bar{X}$=41.32	$\bar{X}$=40.13
s=4.62	s=4.85	s=4.20	s=3.83	s=4.69
n=27	n=12	n=22	n=19	n=80
		F= 1.82, p >.05		
COMPOSITE MEASURE OF FAMILY RELATIONS				
$\bar{X}$=39.19	$\bar{X}$=37.75	$\bar{X}$=36.27	$\bar{X}$=39.00	$\bar{X}$=38.13
s=4.13	s=5.12	s=4.26	s=4.15	s=4.40
n=22	n=12	n=22	n=19	n=80
		F= 2.17, p >.05		

* Two respondents not scored by reason of missing data.

** One respondent not scored by reason of missing data.

to mother" (F=5.10, p <.05). In the respondents' ratings of "parental reasoning," the mean scores for the subcultural anomie subgroup were significantly lower than mean scores for both the categories of cultural

Table 5:20. Mean Scores for Composite Family Relations by Subjective Definitions and Parental Socio-Economic Status.

Category of Subjective Definition				
C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	Total
"Family Relations: Mean Scores:				
Higher Parental SES*				
$\bar{X}=39.60$	$\bar{X}=37.14$	$\bar{X}=37.00$	$\bar{X}=39.38$	$\bar{X}=38.00$
$s=3.58$	$s=6.72$	$s=3.74$	$s=2.62$	$s=4.27$
$n=5$	$n=7$	$n=13$	$n=8$	$n=33$
$F= 0.83$, $p >.05$				
Lower Parental SES*				
$\bar{X}=39.09$	$\bar{X}=38.60$	$\bar{X}=35.22$	$\bar{X}=38.73$	$\bar{X}=38.21$
$s=4.32$	$s=1.82$	$s=4.94$	$s=5.10$	$s=4.57$
$n=21$	$n=4$	$n=7$	$n=10$	$n=42$**
$F= 1.68$, $p >.05$				

---

* These categories were created by the stratification of the sample about the mean score for Parental SES.

** Five respondents omitted by reason of missing data for Parental SES.

unity ($F=7.33$, $p <.05$) and full anomie ($F=4.23$, $p <.05$).

The greatest difference in the scale items for "parental punitiveness" was the significantly greater proportion of young people in the subcultural anomie category who rated their parents as unwilling to listen to their side of an argument. This observation is shown in table 5:21.

The mean scores for the sub-scale of "parental punitiveness" also show a similar pattern with the mean score for the subcultural anomie category being significantly lower than that for full anomie ($F=3.98$, $p <.05$) while the comparison with cultural unity just fails the criterion of statistical significance ($F=3.76$, $p >.05$). As shown in table 5:22, one item of the parental punitiveness sub-scale by which respondents were asked to rate their parents' tendency to blame or criticize the son

Table 5:21. Parental Willingness to Consider Son's Side of an Argument by Subjective Definitions.

Subjective Definition	Parents Are Willing		Sample Totals
	Always/Often	Sometimes/Seldom/Never	
	N= 50	N= 30	N= 80
	%	%	%
Cultural Unity:	40	23	34
Pluralistic Value Disagreement:	16	13	15
Subcultural Anomie:	14	50	28
Full Anomie:	30	13	24
	100	100	100

$X^2 = 12.661$, $p < .05$

"when it is not deserved," clearly indicates the pattern.

Finally, the analysis of paired comparisons of mean scores on the composite measure of family relations also indicates that the score characterizing those young people who selected subjective definitions of subcultural anomie is again significantly lower than the mean scores for either the cultural unity ($F=5.49$, $p < .05$) or full anomie ($F=4.05$, $p < .05$) categories.

From these several observations of the patterns of association between subjective definitions of social and cultural conditions and the measures of family relations, three general observations arise.

First, while a slight association between subjective definitions of subcultural/full anomie and respondents' ratings of less positive family relations may be observed, the association fails to meet the criterion

Table 5:22. Rating of Parental Criticism by Subjective Definitions.

Subjective Definition	Parents Blame or Criticize Son When It Is Not Deserved: Always/Often/Sometimes	Parents Blame or Criticize Son When It Is Not Deserved: Seldom/Never	Sample Totals
	N= 27 %	N= 53 %	N= 80 %
Cultural Unity:	15	43	34
Pluralistic Value Disagreement:	22	11	15
Subcultural Anomie:	48	17	28
Full Anomie:	15	28	24
	100	100	100

$X^2 = 13.435, p < .05$

of statistical significance and the hypothesis must be rejected.

Second, analysis of mean family relations scores with the sample stratified by the four categories of subjective definition indicates that comparatively more positive family relations are reported by those young people who had selected definitions of cultural unity or full anomie while less positive family relations are associated with the categories of pluralistic value disagreement and subcultural anomie. These observed relationships were further determined to be independent of the association between subjective definitions and parental socio-economic status. It would appear, therefore, that for the sample, young people from more highly integrated families who experience more positive family relations are more likely to apprehend social and cultural conditions in terms of the theoretically extreme definitions of cultural unity and full anomie.

Conversely, young people from less integrated families with family relations rated as comparatively less positive are more likely to apprehend less extreme qualities of general social and cultural conditions and define their understandings of anomic qualities as subcultural anomie or of non-anomic qualities as pluralistic value disagreement.

Finally, while selections of the statement of subcultural anomie are known to be associated with criterion measures of anomia and misanthropy and the validity of these selections as indicators of certain anomic qualities in the general social and cultural conditions experienced by the young people has been accepted, this category particularly is partially explained by its association with measures of family relations. By definition it is the quality of subcultural anomie which includes problematic interactions across groups based on value ambiguity and conflict. One relevant example of such problematic interaction is found in the reality of generational dissensus or, more commonly, the generation gap. It is not therefore surprising or unexpected that those young people characteristically rating their family relations as least positive also were those who defined social and cultural conditions in terms of subcultural anomie.

Formal Group Memberships

It was hypothesized that young people with greater experience of regularized social participation in formal groups would be less likely to apprehend anomic social and cultural conditions. Thus it was expected that fewer group memberships would be associated with the categories of subcultural and full anomie. However, no statistically significant difference was observed between the categories and the hypothesis was rejected.[22]

Use of Automobile

It was expected that young people with greater mobility and consequent wider experience of social and cultural conditions would be more likely to select subjective definitions of subcultural and full anomie. As shown by the data in table 5:23, while such a pattern was in fact observed, the association just failed to be acceptable by the criterion of statistical significance.

Table 5:23. Use of Automobile by Subjective Definitions.

Subjective Definition	None	Parents' Car	Respondent's Own Car	Sample Totals
	N= 14	N= 22	N= 44	N= 80
	%	%	%	%
Cultural Unity:	50	32	30	34
Pluralistic Value Disagreement:	7	27	11	15
Subcultural Anomie:	7	36	30	28
Full Anomie:	36	5	30	24
	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 12.211,\ p > .05$

Overall, most of the young people in the sample enjoy access to an automobile, 80 per cent of the cultural unity and pluralistic value disagreement categories and 85 per cent of the young people selecting definitions of subcultural and full anomie. And while the association is not statistically significant, an interesting observation is the greater proportion of respondents in subcultural and full anomie categories who own their own car as compared with those in the categories of cultural unity and pluralistic value disagreement.

Controls for Psychological Concomitants

Central to the interpretation of the relationship between definitions of socio-cultural conditions and indicators of individual social situation is the hypothesis that observed patterns of association might be reduced but not eliminated by controls for the psychological concomitants of anomia and misanthropy. If this hypothesis can not be accepted, then any observed relationships with the categories of subjective definitions must be considered spurious. The hypothesis was tested by the application of appropriate controls to the relationship between subjective definitions and the measures of parental socio-economic status and family relations. This is shown in tables 5:24 and 5:25.

The general pattern indicated by table 5:11 is the statistically significant association of comparatively lower mean parental SES scores for the cultural unity category, higher scores for pluralistic value disagreement, slightly higher mean scores for subcultural anomie, and slightly lower scores for full anomie. The only variation from this pattern occurs in the subsamples of respondents with anomia scores above the sample mean and respondents with misanthropy scores below the sample mean where the relation between mean scores for subcultural and full anomie categories is reversed.

More particularly, the mean scores for the cultural unity category are uniformly lower while for the category of pluralistic value disagreement the scores are all higher. The pattern is generally apparent in all tests and in one instance, the subsample of respondents with scores

Table 5:24. Parental Socio-Economic Status by Subjective Definitions and Psychological Concomitants.

Category of Subjective Definition				
C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	Total
Mean Scores, "Parental Socio-Economic Status":				
Greater "Anomia"*				
$\bar{X}$=28.33	$\bar{X}$=42.00	$\bar{X}$=29.54	$\bar{X}$=30.33	$\bar{X}$=30.62
s=1.53	- - -	s=6.88	s=3.85	s=5.81
n=3	n=1	n=13**	n=12	n=29**
		F not computed		
Lesser "Anomia"*				
$\bar{X}$=28.26	$\bar{X}$=33.8	$\bar{X}$=35.29	$\bar{X}$=33.50	$\bar{X}$=31.22
s=4.79	s=6.92	s=5.50	s=4.46	s=6.02
n=23**	n=10**	n=7	n=6**	n=46**
		F= 4.77, $p < .05$		
Greater "Misanthropy"*				
$\bar{X}$=28.67	$\bar{X}$=35.67	$\bar{X}$=31.67	$\bar{X}$=31.00	$\bar{X}$=31.26
s=2.16	s=3.51	s=7.37	s=3.76	s=5.44
n=6	n=3	n=15**	n=14**	n=38**
		F= 1.16, $p > .05$		
Lesser "Misanthropy"*				
$\bar{X}$=28.15	$\bar{X}$=34.13	$\bar{X}$=31.20	$\bar{X}$=32.75	$\bar{X}$=30.35
s=5.05	s=8.13	s=5.85	s=6.02	s=6.30
n=20**	n=8**	n=5	n=4	n=37**
		F= 2.19, $p > .05$		

* These categories were created by stratification of the sample about the mean scores for anomia and misanthropy.

** N is reduced as some respondents omitted one or more parental SES items.

below the sample mean for anomia, the relationship is stronger than was originally observed.

In the first test of the relationship between subjective definitions and parental SES, the analysis of paired comparisons showed that the mean score for young people selecting definitions of cultural unity

Table 5:25. Composite Measure of Family Relations by Subjective Definitions and Psychological Concomitants.

	Category of Subjective Definition				
	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	Total
Mean Scores, "Composite Measure of Family Relations":					
Greater "Anomia"*					
	$\bar{X}=40.00$	$\bar{X}=42.00$	$\bar{X}=36.07$	$\bar{X}=39.08$	$\bar{X}=37.81$
	s=2.64	- - -	s=5.06	s=3.06	s=4.37
	n=3	n=1	n=15	n=12	n=31
	F not computed				
Lesser "Anomia"*					
	$\bar{X}=39.08$	$\bar{X}=37.36$	$\bar{X}=36.71$	$\bar{X}=38.86$	$\bar{X}=38.33$
	s=4.31	s=5.20	s=1.80	s=5.87	s=4.49
	n=24	n=11	n=7	n=7	n=49
	$F= 0.72$, $p > .05$				
Greater "Misanthropy"*					
	$\bar{X}=39.50$	$\bar{X}=42.33$	$\bar{X}=35.18$	$\bar{X}=38.73$	$\bar{X}=37.63$
	s=3.02	s=3.06	s=4.02	s=4.43	s=4.49
	n=6	n=3	n=17	n=15	n=41
	$F= 4.29$, $p < .05$				
Lesser "Misanthropy"*					
	$\bar{X}=39.10$	$\bar{X}=36.22$	$\bar{X}=40.00$	$\bar{X}=40.00$	$\bar{X}=38.64$
	s=4.46	s=4.84	s=2.83	s=3.16	s=4.36
	n=21	n=9	n=5	n=4	n=39
	$F= 1.33$, $p > .05$				

* These categories were created by stratificaiton of the sample about the mean scores for anomia and misanthropy.

was significantly lower than for respondents in the category pluralistic value disagreement. This observation remained in two of the present tests with the application of controls. The mean score for the cultural unity subgroup is significantly lower than that for pluralistic value disagreement in the subsamples of "lower anomia" ($F=7.38$, $p < .05$), and "lesser misanthropy" ($F=5.64$, $p < .05$). The few respondents in these two categories of subjective definitions in the other subsamples precludes a testing of this relationship. It is also noted, however, that in the subsample of "lesser anomia," the cultural unity mean is significantly lower than both the mean scores for subcultural anomie ($F=9.14$, $p < .05$), and full anomie ($F=4.51$, $p < .05$).

The general pattern shown in table 5:19 shows higher mean scores on the composite measure of family relations for the cultural unity and full anomie categories with the mean score for respondents selecting definitions of subcultural anomie being significantly lower. When the relationship between subjective definitions and family relations is again tested, this time with controls for anomia and misanthropy, only three deviations from this pattern are observed. These are the comparatively high mean scores for the pluralistic value disagreement subgroup in the "greater anomia" and "greater misanthropy" subsamples, and high mean score for respondents selecting subcultural anomie in the "lesser misanthropy" subsample. In all three instances, however, the number of respondents in the category is quite small and therefore these variations are not considered serious.

With these exceptions, the general pattern is observed in all four tests. It is further noted that in the "greater misanthropy" subsample, the relationship is greater than was originally observed. In three of the subsamples, the mean score for the subcultural anomie category is lower. This observation is of reduced significance in the "lesser anomia" subsample while in the "greater misanthropy" subsample, the mean for subcultural anomie is significantly lower than the means for the remaining three categories of subjective definitions.[23]

In general, with controls for the psychological concomitants of anomia and misanthropy, the patterns of association between definitions of socio-cultural conditions and parental socio-economic status and the composite measure of family relations remained largely as originally tested. In some instances the associations were reduced in strength and in others, intensified. However, in no case did the pattern of association disappear as it would if the original relationships were spurious.

Therefore, the hypothesis which predicts that controls for psychological concomitants will not eliminate observed statistically significant relationships between subjective definitions and indicators of individual social situations, is accepted. The relationships observed between respondents' selections of subjective definitions and measures of parental socio-economic status and ratings of family relations are interpreted as real.

Summary

The preceding analyses of relations between the selection of subjective definitions of socio-cultural conditions and the indicators of individual social situation are summarized by the following statements.

1. There is no association in the sample between selection of subjective definitions and the following indicators of individual social situation: place of birth; residence; student status; employment status; religious preference; ethnicity; family size; birth order; status of natural parents; and formal group memberships.
2. Slight associations were observed between subjective definitions and the following indicators of individual social situation: age (older respondents showed a non-significant tendency to select definitions of subcultural and full anomie); academic program (non-significant assoc-

iation between general program and selection of statement of full anomie while matriculation students were under-represented in that category); spending money (respondents selecting full anomie also reported more personal spending money); savings (respondents in the category of subcultural anomie reported less savings); and finally, there was a greater tendency for the young people selecting definitions of subcultural of full anomie to own their own automobile. None of these patterns of association were found to be statistically significant.

3. No relationship was observed between parental socio-economic status and the two subjective definitions which recognize qualities of sociocultural anomie as compared with the definitions of cultural unity and pluralistic value disagreement. When the relationship between parental SES and subjective definitions was tested across the four categories, the low mean score for cultural unity was found to be statistically significant, while the high mean score for pluralistic value disagreement was also statistically significant. A similar relationship was observed between subcultural anomie with higher scores and full anomie with lower scores. However, in the latter comparison, the observation was not statistically significant.

4. A non-statistically significant association was observed between the measure of respondents' independence of family and subjective definitions. Young people selecting definitions of pluralistic value disagreement and subcultural anomie also tended to rate themselves as more independent of the parental family.

5. The several measures of family relations indicate that the respondents selecting the subjective definition of cultural unity, and to a lesser extent full anomie, experience individual social situations

characterized by greater family integration, more positive relations with their parents, and less punitive patterns of parental discipline. The lower mean scores by which young people selecting definitions of subcultural anomie rated their experience of the same family relations dimensions as less positive, were statistically significant.

6. The relationship between subjective definitions and family relations is independent of the relationship between subjective definitions and parental SES.

7. The relationships observed between the selection of subjective definitions of socio-cultural conditions and the principal indicators of individual social situation, parental socio-economic status and family relations are independent of the measures of anomia and misanthropy.

A full consideration of these observations is included with the discussion of conclusions in chapter VII.

FOOTNOTES

1. Leo Srole, "Social Integration and Certain Corollaries," op. cit.
2. Morris Rosenberg, "Misanthropy and Political Ideology," op. cit.
3. The levels of significance associated with the distribution of responses to the anomia scale items are as follows:
   The lot...worse: X^2= 7.809. $p > .05$
   Hardly...future: X^2= 5.228, $p > .05$
   Person...itself: X^2= 7.108, $p > .05$
   These...count on: X^2= 23.238, $p < .05$
   Officials...man: X^2= 15.596, $p < .05$
4. The levels of significance associated with the distribution of responses to the misanthropy scale items are as follows:

Can't be too careful:	X^2= 14.606, $p < .05$
People look out for themselves:	X^2= 18.406, $p < .05$
People take advantage:	X^2= 7.362, $p > .05$

No one cares...you: $X^2=16.248, p <.05$

Others not cooperative: $X^2= 9.602, p <.05$

5. The analysis of subgroup means by paired comparisons following the Scheffe method (Ferguson, op. cit.) are as follows:
   A. For mean anomia scores:

      $F(CU/PVD) = 1.44, p >.05$
      $F(CU/SA) = 17.27, p <.05$
      $F(CU/FA) = 18.00, p <.05$
      $F(PVD/SA) = 19.22, p <.05$
      $F(PVD/FA) = 20.00, p <.05$
      $F(SA/FA) = 0.06, p >.05$

   B. For mean misanthropy scores:

      $F(CU/PVD) = 0.07, p >.05$
      $F(CU/SA) = 20.73, p <.05$
      $F(CU/FA) = 27.58, p <.05$
      $F(PVD/SA) = 11.53, p <.05$
      $F(PVD/FA) = 16.22, p <.05$
      $F(SA/FA) = 0.74, p >.05$

6. Relevant paired comparisons for the analysis of the "unity-ambiguity" subgroup means are as follows:
   A. Mean anomia scores ($\bar{X}(U-A)= 1.60, s=1.12, n=15$):

      $F(U-A/CU) = 0.35, p >.05$
      $F(U-A/SA) = 12.25, p <.05$
      $F(U-A/FA) = 11.37, p <.05$

   B. Mean misanthropy scores ($\bar{X}(U-A)= 2.27, s=1.22, n=15$):

      $F(U-A/CU) = 6.12, p <.05$
      $F(U-A/SA) = 11.16, p <.05$
      $F(U-A/FA) = 14.50, p <.05$

7. The categories are fundamentally interpreted as valid indicators for the analysis of sample data in this study only. The issue of the general validity of the measure cannot be addressed on the basis of the presently inadequate sample size and therefore awaits subsequent testing.

8. See Appendix D, tables A:2 and A:3.

9. See Appendix D, table A:4.

10. See Appendix D, table A:5.

11. See Appendix D, tables A:6 and A:7.

12. It is emphasized that the observed patterns failed to be statistically significant at the 0.05 level and no firm conclusions are warranted.

13. Peter Berger, The Sacred Canopy, op. cit.

14. Peter L. Berger, A Rumor of Angels, op. cit.

15. See Appendix D, tables A:8 and A;9.

16. For cross-tabulation by parents' education, see Appendix D, tables A:10 and A:11.

17. One possible explanation for the latter exception was thought to be Mother's participation in the labor force which would result in a skewing of scale scores due to the weighting given total family income. However, when this was tested, not only was it determined that the comparatively high SES scores for subcultural and full anomie categories could not be attributed to the influence of working mothers on the family income, but in addition it was discovered that in a non-significant relationship, working mothers are disproportionately associated with sons selecting the subjective definition of cultural unity. It is the cultural unity category with which is associated the lowest mean score for parental SES. See Appendix D, table A:12.

18. See Appendix D, table A:13.

19. See Appendix D, tables A:14 and A:15.

20. See Appendix D, tables A:16 and A:17.

21. In vol. II of the report of the Institute for Social Research "Youth in Transition" study (for which the composite measure of family relations was originally developed), Bachman is careful to caution against a too quick acceptance of the scale. While the scale scores correlated well with several criterion variables and ratings were found by re-test to remain stable over time, the subjective, interpretive character of this scale, as with all such Likert-type scales, makes comparisons problematic in that one respondent's "seldom" may be another's "sometimes," etc. Cf. Jerald G. Bachman, The Impact of Family Background and Intelligence on Tenth-Grade Boys, (Youth in Transition, vol II), Ann Arbor, Mich.: Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan, 1970. pp.194-5, 210-12.

22. See Appendix D, table A:18.

23. Analysis of paired comparisons showed the following probabilities:

$F(SA/CU) = 5.13,\ p < .05$
$F(SA/PVD) = 8.09,\ p < .05$
$F(SA/FA) = 6.24,\ p < .05$

Chapter VI

ADJUSTMENT TO ANOMIE

Introduction

The implication of the theory is that an individual will not directly tolerate anomic qualities in the social and cultural nomos of experience. This is assumed by the understanding that the apprehension of anomie has as its consequence not just the problematic distortion of order and predictability in social relations with others, but through internalization, the malignant transformation of subjective meaningfulness and identity. It is thus further understood that individuals who apprehend anomic qualities of the socio-cultural nomos will both implicitly and explicitly seek adjustments in their interactions with others. Such adjustments intend the sufficient establishment of objective order and subjective meaning.

The consideration of this process of adjustment is beyond the methodology and scope of this study. However, from the theory it may be assumed that such adjustments are sufficient to the extent that the individual is not immobilized by anxiety and maintains social participation. Thus, all of the young people interviewed for this study who would define social and cultural conditions in terms of anomic qualities are understood as having effected sufficient adjustment. What is of interest to this investigation is the extent to which these adjustments incorporate characteristic patterns of social participation.

The discussion in this chapter is therefore concerned with the extent to which differences in reported behavior are associated with the four categories of subjective definitions of socio-cultural conditions.

For this purpose, three dimensions of the social participation of the young people were surveyed. As reported in the first three sections of this chapter, these dimensions include the instrumental activity of educational participation, the expressive activity of peer relations, and self-reported delinquent behavior, a dimension which has been frequently cited as a behavioral concomitant to anomic conditions.[1]

The final section of this chapter involves a consideration of characteristic patterns of subjective meaningfulness as indicated by measurement of the value dimensions of hope and discipline.

INSTRUMENTAL ACTIVITY

Introduction

In our society, the primary instrumental activity for the young adolescent remains the preparation for the full assumption of an adult role. Within this understanding, the school and attainment of appropriate education assume particular significance.

With this in mind, the instrumental activity of the young people in the sample was surveyed over a variety of indicators of educational participation. These included measures of study habits and motivation for grades, academic standing, interactions with teachers and other students, general values and attitudes towards education, and acceptance of school conduct norms.

An additional consideration of instrumental activity involved the analysis of employment experience.

Study Habits

Higher scores on the five-item measure of study habits indicates a respondent's self-rating as one who studies more than his classmates, makes notes while reading, follows a study schedule, infrequently or never daydreams while studying and is adequately prepared for examinations. The breakdown of responses over these items for the four categories of subjective definitions is shown in table 6:1.

The mean scale scores for study habits reported in table 6:2 provide a slight indication that the young people who would define social and cultural conditions as cultural unity or pluralistic value disagreement also would rate themselves as more serious and disciplined in their orientation toward customary academic obligations. A comparatively lower mean score characterizes those young people who selected subjective definitions of subcultural anomie. However, while the observed differences are in the direction predicted because of the small variation between the subgroup means fails to meet the criterion of statistical significance and the hypothesis is rejected.

Motivation for Grades

The motivation for grades scale is composed of five items indicating the respondent's reputation as a hard worker, amount of studying in relation to classmates, commitment to school work and assignments, and the importance attached to getting good grades. It was predicted that young people with subjective definitions of subcultural or full anomie would rate themselves significantly lower on this scale.

Initial consideration of the data suggested the expected pattern to the extent that respondents with subjective definitions of cultural unity and pluralistic value disagreement were characterized by a mean score of 12.38 as against the mean for subcultural and full anomie of 11.59. This difference was not statistically significant at the five per cent level.

Table 6:1. Subjective Definitions by Study Habits Scale Items.

Scale Item	Subjective Definition				Sample Totals
	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	
	n=27 %	n=12 %	n=22 %	n=19 %	n=80 %
Studies more than class mates:[a]	44	25	14	42	33
Generally/always makes notes while reading:[b]	15	42	14	21	20
Infrequently/never daydreams while studying:[c]	22	25	23	21	23
Has study routine or schedule:[d]	59	50	50	47	53
Mostly/always adequately prepared for exams:[e]	74	67	50	58	53

a. X^2=10.413, df=6, $p > .05$
b. X^2= 5.839, df=6, $p > .05$
c. X^2= 1.090, df=6, $p > .05$
d. X^2= 1.056, df=6, $p > .05$
e. X^2= 5.795, df=6, $p > .05$

Table 6:2. Subjective Definitions by Mean Scores for Study Habits.

Category of Subjective Definition				Total Sample
C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	
$\bar{X}$=11.22 s=2.26 n=27	$\bar{X}$=11.00 s=1.91 n=12	$\bar{X}$=10.18 s=1.92 n=22	$\bar{X}$=10.58 s=3.02 n=19	$\bar{X}$=10.75 s=2.33 n=80

F=0.88, $p > .05$

Further analysis, indicated by table 6:3, showed the mean scores for the full anomie subgroup as unexpectedly high. Overall, the differences in

Table 6:3. Subjective Definitions by Mean Scores for Motivation for Grades.

Category of Subjective Definition				Total Sample
C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	
$\bar{X}=12.85$ $s=2.64$ $n=27$	$\bar{X}=11.33$ $s=2.35$ $n=12$	$\bar{X}=10.95$ $s=2.30$ $n=22$	$\bar{X}=12.32$ $s=2.93$ $n=19$	$\bar{X}=11.98$ $s=2.66$ $n=80$
$F= 2.54$, $p > .05$				

the mean scores just fail to be statistically significant, however the subsequent analysis of paired comparisons indicated that the mean score for the subcultural anomie subgroup was significantly lower than the cultural unity mean ($F=6.54$, $p < .05$).

Because parental socio-economic status is known to be significantly associated with the four categories of subjective definition and because the pattern of mean scores for motivation for grades resembles the distribution of parental SES scores, the relationship between subjective definitions and mean scores for motivation for grades was further tested with controls for parental SES. This is shown in table 6:4.

For those young people with parental SES scores above the sample mean, the predicted direction is obtained although the differences remain statistically nonsignificant. The anomaly revealed in table 6:3 is more accurately associated with those respondents who selected subjective definitions of full anomie and rated their parental SES below the sample mean. The mean score for this subgroup was significantly higher than the mean scores for respondents with lower parental SES scores who had selected pluralistic value disagreement ($F=4.33$, $p < .05$) or subcultural anomie (F=3.96, $p < .05$).

Consideration of response patterns to the individual items by category of subjective definition failed to provide any further insight into the unexpectedly higher scores for the full anomie subgroup. As shown in table 6:5, the differences were observed over all items.

Table 6:4. Subjective Definitions by Mean Scores for Motivation for Grades and Parental Socio-Economic Status.

Category of Subjective Definition				Total Sample
C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	
Higher Parental SES*				
$\bar{X}$=13.40 s=2.51 n=5	$\bar{X}$=12.00 s=2.31 n=7	$\bar{X}$=10.92 s=2.33 n=13	$\bar{X}$=11.00 s=3.16 n=8	$\bar{X}$=11.55 s=2.61 n=33
F= 1.31, p >.05				
Lower Parental SES*				
$\bar{X}$=12.73 s=2.71 n=21	$\bar{X}$=10.40 s=2.30 n=4	$\bar{X}$=11.00 s=2.40 n=7	$\bar{X}$=13.27 s=2.45 n=10	$\bar{X}$=12.28 s=2.68 n=42
F= 2.42, p >.05				

* These categories were created by stratification of the sample about the mean score for parental SES.

While the ratings of the subcultural anomie group are consistently low as was expected, the anomalously high scores for respondents characterized by subjective definitions of full anomie and lower parental SES produce the general lack of statistical significance. The hypothesis is therefore rejected.

Academic Performance

Several indicators of academic standing and performance were included

Table 6:5. Subjective Definitions by Motivation for Grades Scale Items.

Scale Item	Subjective Definition				Sample Totals
	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	
	n=27 %	n=12 %	n=22 %	n=19 %	n=80 %
Is thought hardworking by teachers:[a]	52	58	50	47	51
Studies more than classmates:[b]	44	25	14	42	33
Other interests rarely/never interfere with getting grades:[c]	52	16	18	42	35
Rarely/never delay on uninteresting assignments:[d]	48	33	46	53	46
Importance attached to getting good grades:[e]					
none/moderate amount	19	33	55	42	36
quite a bit	63	50	27	42	46
a great deal	19	17	18	16	17

a. X^2= 2.097, df=6, p >.05
b. X^2=10.413, df=6, p >.05
c. X^2= 9.662, df=6, p >.05
d. X^2= 2.002, df=6, p >.05
e. X^2= 8.090, df=6, p >.05

in the study. The respondents were asked about their average grades for the courses they were currently taking or, in the case of the four respondents who had "dropped out," had taken in the last full year attended, about whether they had skipped or failed grades in school, and their understandings of what was necessary to do well in school. It was hypothetisized that subjective definitions of subcultural and full anomie would be associated with comparatively less successful academic performance.

As shown in table 6:6, there was a slight association in which subjective definitions of cultural unity and pluralistic value disagreement were associated with comparatively higher academic standing while young people selecting definitions of subcultural and full anomie reported comparatively lower average grades. However, the relationship is not sufficient to warrant the acceptance of the hypothesis.

Table 6:6. Subjective Definitions by Academic Standing.

Average Academic Standing	Subjective Definition C.U.	 P.V.D.	 S.A.	 F.A.	Sample Totals
	n=27 %	n=12 %	n=22 %	n=19 %	n=80 %
50 to 59 p.c.:	11	17	32	16	19
60 to 69 p.c.:	60	58	59	68	59
70 p.c. or better:	37	25	9	16	22
	100	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 8.190,\ p > .05$

The number of young people in the sample who had either skipped a grade or failed at least one grade was too small for statistical analysis. However, the distribution did follow the direction observed in table 6:6. Only three of the respondents reported having skipped a grade, one in the cultural unity subgroup and two of the young people who had selected pluralistic value disagreement. Of the seven respondents who reported having previously failed at least one grade, only one was found in each of the cultural unity and pluralistic value disagreement subgroups while two had indicated subjective definitions of subcultural unity and three had selected full anomie.

Despite the lack of statistical significance, a pattern can be observed in the relationship between subjective definitions of sociocultural conditions and academic performance. Those respondents whose definitions do not include anomic qualities tend to report greater academic success while the young people in the sample with subjective definitions of subcultural or full anomie are, by their reports, comparatively less successful.

A further insight into this difference was gained from the respondents answers to the question: "What things do you feel that you need to do in order to do well in your classes?" Most respondents indicated a recipe for success with more than one ingredient; however, characteristic themes did emerge. These centered on the extent to which some mention was made about studying. Table 6:7 indicates the relative frequencies with which this aspect was mentioned either as an ideal or as a report of present practice, either as keeping up with assigned work or going beyond the minimum requirements. Characteristically, the young people who had selected definitions other than cultural unity frequently failed to make any mention of this traditional student activity. This failure particularly characterized the full anomie subgroup.

As indicated by table 6:7, the common theme characterizing the young people in the cultural unity subgroup is the value of studying as a means to doing well in classes. While this idea was variously expressed, the principle was largely shared in common. Some of the representative understandings are as follows.

> "You have to want what you're doing. Study and enjoy it."
>
> "Study every night and for tests. Do all your assignments on time."

Table 6:7. Subjective Definitions by Indication of the Relation Between Studying and Academic Success.

	Subjective Definition				Sample Totals
	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	
	n=27	n=12	n=22	n=19	n=80
	%	%	%	%	%
Statements include mention of studying:	82	50	46	32	55
Make no mention of the role of studying:	19	50	55	68	45
	100	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 12.043$, $p < .05$

> "I don't work and that helps. I did work last year but I'm doing better now. You get more time to study."
>
> "I do my homework and study for tests and just make sure I have everything handed in."
>
> "Just doing the work that they assign. Don't slack off too much. If you even try, you are usually passed."
>
> "A person has to be interested in the course. He has to set a goal and he has to study hard and work for it."
>
> "Listen and study and do your work. Nothing else."
>
> "You have to study and keep up and do your homework. If I was going to do better, that's what I"d do. But it probably wouldn't work."

Of the twelve respondents in the pluralistic value disagreement, subgroup, ten included in their answers a common theme of the need to be interested and pay attention in class.

> "Be interested in your classes and the instructor."
>
> "Pay attention in class and try to understand.. Try to do your homework."
>
> "Take an interest. I need to realize that it's important and keep my mind on it."

> "You have to be interested in class. When it counts, you have to get down and work."
>
> "Pay attention and study."
>
> "Listen to begin with. The easiest thing to do is to study every night."

In addition to consideration of the need to study, the young people in the subcultural anomie subgroup were characterized by two predominating notions. It is with this group that statements about the need to attend classes begin to appear and the need for good teachers, the kind a student can "get along with." This latter sentiment is consistent with the understanding that it is the subcultural anomie subgroup that is most explicitly conscious of intergenerational dissensus. Some statements representative of these notions follow.

> "Study more and spend more time on homework. Attend classes more."
>
> "Attendance about the only thing. Show up for class and don't mess around in class."
>
> "Pay attention. If you are there, it makes a difference."
>
> "Participate and pay attention. Don't skip."
>
> "Attend regularly and study."
>
> "A good teacher, that's what helps me if I can go after class and ask questions where I don't understand."
>
> "Enjoy the class. It depends if the teacher likes you or not."
>
> "Study habits. If I get a bad teacher I won't work for him so teachers make a difference. I'm not going to waste my time for a bad one."
>
> "Needed better teachers. Well the teachers I had, I felt that all they were interested in was the money, that's the impression I got. They'd just give you something to do and sit back behind their desk and twiddle there themselves."
>
> "Get along with your teachers and try to understand them. And having them try to understand you."

Only about one-third of the full anomie subgroup included mention of the value of studying as part of their understanding of what it takes to do well in school. In common with the other young people who apprehend anomic qualities in socio-cultural conditions, these respondents also tended to observe the need to attend classes and in addition, mentioned the desirability of the appropriate attitudes towards school and courses.

Among the ideas expressed by the young people in this subgroup are the following.

> "Be there all the time, don't come late, and do what you're told to do."
>
> "Usually just attend...on time. Learn a couple of things, the basic things. You don't have to learn everything."
>
> "Be there! Get down to work and listen. Do homework every night."
>
> "Be there all the time and get your assignments done."
>
> "Attending classes and working harder."
>
> "Regular attendance...it helps if it's not too boring, if you like the teacher and get along fairly well."
>
> "Get along with the teacher and like the work you're doing in school."
>
> "Have a good attitude, a student must want to be at school."
>
> "Make sacrifices and put education ahead of everything else. Put aside differences with teachers and have the attitude to get all the education you can now 'cause you'll need it in the future."
>
> "You need to be able to relax, I couldn't relax at school."
>
> "Have the right attitude and a positive approach and do the work that's required."

In general it would appear that there are some differences in the reported academic performance and standing of the four subgroups. Students who do not apprehend anomic qualities in socio-cultural conditions also tend to be slightly more successful in school and share more positive notions about what is required to do well. By contrast, the young people who indicate subjective definitions of subcultural and full anomie are somewhat less successful and indicate ideas about the nature of aceadmic success which suggest less positive attitudes.

Relationships With Teachers

As indicated, the key to doing well in school for the cultural unity subgroup was studying, while for the young people with definitions of subcultural and full anomie, it was getting along with teachers and going to classes. This observation tends to be borne out by the analysis of relationships with teachers as indicated in tables 6:8 and 6:9. The subgroups of subcultural and full anomie both report greater frequencies for private conversations with teachers concerning both school work and other matters than do the young people who would define sociocultural conditions in terms of cultural unity.

Table 6:8. Subjective Definitions by Private Talks with Teachers About School Work.

	Subjective Definition				
Frequency of Private Talks	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	Sample Totals
	n=27 %	n=12 %	n=22 %	n=19 %	n=80 %
Once a week or more:	15	33	36	37	29
Once or twice a month:	26	50	9	21	24
Less than twice a term:	59	17	55	42	48
	100	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 11.906, p > .05$

However, despite the comparatively greater contact which respondents in the subcultural and full anomie subgroups report with their teachers outside of the classroom, they are not more inclined to rate their teachers as taking a personal interest in them. Apparently the simple fact of extracurricular interaction does not insure satisfaction with the student-teacher relationship. This is suggested by the data presented in table 6:10.

Table 6:9. Subjective Definitions by Private Talks with Teachers about other Matters.

	Subjective Definition				
Frequency of Private Talks	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	Totals
	n=26* %	n=12 %	n=22 %	n=19 %	n=79* %
Once a week or more:	15	33	23	26	23
Once or twice a month:	12	25	18	32	20
Once or twice a term:	27	33	36	21	29
Never:	46	8	23	21	28
	100	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 9.903, p > .05$

* One respondent failed to answer this question.

Table 6:10. Subjective Definition by Rating of Teachers' Interest in the Student.

	Subjective Definition				
Proportion of Teachers Interested in Respondent	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	Sample Totals
	n=27 %	n=12 %	n=22 %	n=19 %	n=80 %
All or most:	15	25	27	11	19
Some:	41	58	27	32	38
Few of none:	44	17	46	58	44
	100	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 7.165, p > .05$

Again, however, it must be cautioned that while some slight patterns in student-teacher relationships are suggested, the data fail to meet the requirements of statistical significance and no conclusions are warranted.

Interest in Courses

For indicators of interest in courses, the respondents were asked to rate their courses generally and to report the frequency with which their courses inspired discussions with their friends or more work and reading than required.

As indicated in table 6:11, the full anomie subgroup was unexpectedly much more likely to rate their courses as very exciting or quite interesting. This statistically significant relationship was re-examined with controls for parental SES with the result that the differences were almost fully located with those young people who selected definitions of full anomie and reported higher parental SES. Thus parental SES is understood to be an intervening variable. Notwithstanding, the report of greater interest in courses given by the full anomie, higher parental SES subgroup remains unexplained, particularly in that these respondents have also reported somewhat less typical study habits and comparatively lower motivation for grades and to the extent that this difference is not observed in the remaining two indicators of interest in courses. The available data do not provide greater insight into this apparent contradiction of the theory. For now, the anomaly can only be noted and the hope expressed that subsequent research might allow greater light to be thrown on the matter.

Considering the remaining indicators of interest in courses, young people in the subcultural anomie subgroup showed a slightly greater tend-

Table 6:11. Subjective Definitions by Rating of Courses for Interest (Total Sample and with Controls for Parental SES)

	Subjective Definitions				
Rating of Courses	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	Sample Totals
	Total Sample				
	n=27	n=12	n=22	n=19	n=80
	%	%	%	%	%
Very/quite interesting:	33	42	41	74	46
Fairly interesting to very dull:	67	58	59	26	54
	100	100	100	100	100
	$X^2 = 7.931$, $p < .05$				
	Higher Parental SES*				
	n=5	n=7	n=13	n=8	n=33
	%	%	%	%	%
Very/quite interesting:	40	57	39	100	58
Fairly interesting to very dull:	60	43	61	---	42
	100	100	100	100	100
	$X^2 = 8.462$, $p < .05$				
	Lower Parental SES*				
	n=22	n=5	n=9	n=11	n=47
	%	%	%	%	%
Very/quite interesting:	32	20	44	55	38
Fairly interesting to very dull:	68	80	56	45	62
	100	100	100	100	100
	$X^2 = 2.463$, $p > .05$				

---

* These categories were created by stratification of the sample about the mean score for parental SES.

ency to report discussing ideas generated by their courses with friends. However, the differences failed to be statistically significant.[2] In the response to the question about the extent to which their courses inspired reading beyond what was required, close to sixty per cent of the young people replied positively with no real difference between subgroups.[3]

Educational Values

It was hypothesized that those young people apprehending anomic qualities of the socio-cultural nomos and the concomitant weakened plausibility structures would be generally less likely to affirm conventional educational values than would young people who do not experience anomie. It was thus expected that respondents with subjective definitions of subcultural and full anomie would score comparatively lower on a measure of general orientation towards educational value-themes.

Educational values were rated by the respondents on a twelve-item Likert-type scale. Items were presented as subjective statements of feelings about school and the young people were asked to report the extent to which each statement matched their own sentiments. The response patterns to these items for the four subjective definition subgroups are shown in table 6:13.

Overall, differences in the mean scores for the four subgroups, as reported in table 6:12, were in the direction predicted. Young people with subjective definitions of cultural unity have the highest mean score indicating comparatively stronger affirmation of the conventional value themes. Conversely, as expected, the subcultural and full anomie subgroups have the lowest mean scores. However, the differences are not statistically significant and the hypothesis is rejected.

Table 6:12. Subjective Definitions by Mean Scores for Educational Values.

Category of Subjective Definition				
C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	Total Sample
$\bar{X}$=30.15 s=4.22 n=27	$\bar{X}$=29.25 n=4.22 n=12	$\bar{X}$=27.91 s=6.43 n=22	$\bar{X}$=28.74 s=4.33 n=19	$\bar{X}$=29.06 s=4.94 n=80

F= 0.86, $p > .05$

Table 6:13. Subjective Definitions by Educational Values Scale Items.

Item	Subjective Definition				Sample Totals
	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	
	n=27 %	n=12 %	n=22 %	n=19 %	n=80 %
"I feel satisfied with school because I learn more about things I want to know about."[a]					
I feel this way pretty/ very much:	60	58	59	57	58
"Even if I could get a good job at present, I'd stay in school and get my education."[b]					
I feel this way very much:	70	83	50	63	65
"There is no value in getting an education unless it helps you get ahead in life."[c]					
I feel this way a little/ Not at all:	41	50	36	42	41
"School is very boring to me, and I'm not learning what I feel is important."[d]					
Not at all:	26	42	46	37	36

....continued

Table 6:13. Subjective Definitions by Educational Values Scale Items (continued).

Item	Subjective Definition				Sample Totals
	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	
	n=27 %	n=12 %	n=22 %	n=19 %	n=80 %
"I think school is important, not only for the practical value, but because learning itself is very worthwhile."[e]					
Very much:	44	17	41	42	40
"A real education comes from your own experience and not from the things you learn in school."[f]					
A little/not at all:	74	50	64	63	65
"An education is a worthwhile thing in life, even if it doesn't help you get a job."[g]					
Pretty much:	37	58	46	42	44
Very much:	41	17	18	16	25
"I can satisfy my curiosity by the things I learn outside of school better than by the things I learn in school."[h]					
A little/not at all:	89	70	64	58	72
"I like school because I am learning the things I will need to know to be a good citizen."[i]					
A little:	59	25	41	53	48
Pretty/much very:	30	17	32	26	28
"One of the main reasons I am still in school is that I don't have any other choice right now."[j]					
Not at all:	73	83	55	63	67

....continued

Table 6:13. Subjective Definitions by Educational Values Scale Items (continued).

Item	Subjective Definition				Sample Totals
	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	
	n=27 %	n=12 %	n=22 %	n=19 %	n=80 %
"I feel I can learn more from a really good job than I can in school."[k]					
Not at all:	52	50	32	47	45
"I believe that education helps a person become a mature adult."[l]					
Pretty much:	48	42	41	47	45
Very much:	33	17	18	21	24

a. X^2= 0.245, df=3, p >.05
b. X^2= 4.319, df=3, p >.05
c. X^2= 8.689, df=9, p >.05
d. X^2= 2.207, df=3, p >.05
e. X^2= 3.382, df=3, p >.05
f. X^2= 2.210, df=3, p >.05
g. X^2= 6.706, df=6, p >.05
h. X^2= 6.448, df=3, p >.05
i. X^2=10.668, df=6, p >.05
j. X^2= 3.557, df=3, p >.05
k. X^2= 2.221, df=3, p >.05
l. X^2= 4.312, df=6, p >.05

The only slight differences in value orientations shown in tables 6:12 and 6:13 are somewhat more focused by responses to another question in the interview. Prior to being requested to complete the educational values questionnaire, the respondents were asked the open question, "What are the things you like most about school?" Here the respondents were free to express their own interests and priorities.

The aspects of the school experience cited in response to this question were very mixed, ranging from specifics to general principles and covering such diverse items as courses, programs, athletics, teachers, the structure and administration of the school, student council, extracurricular activities, school size, job preparation, and learning in general. Analysis of these expressed interests also identified one aspect of the school experience that was mentioned more frequently than any other. Fifty-five per cent of the sample reported as one of their likes the fact that school was where their friends were, that to go to school was to be with their friends. For about twenty per cent of respondents, this was the only answer provided.

A clarification of differences between the four subgroups in education values comes from the data shown in table 6:14. The value of school as a meeting place for friends is much more frequently associated with those respondents who had selected subjective definitions of full anomie. The affirmation of conventional educational values and the intrinsic worth of education which is slightly associated with the cultural unity subgroup in tables 6:12 and 6:13, is underscored by the fact that these young people were less likely to mention relationships with friends as one of the things liked most about school.

Table 6:14. Subjective Definition by Value on School as a Meeting Place for Friends.

School is a Place to be With Friends	Subjective Definition C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	Sample Totals
	n=27 %	n=12 %	n=22 %	n=19 %	n=80 %
Cited as one of the things liked about school:	37	50	59	79	55
Not mentioned:	63	50	41	21	45
	100	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 8.187$, $p < .05$

Some of the young people who mentioned liking school for the opportunity it provided to make and be with friends were quite explicit. Examples include the following.

> "Well it beats working. It's interesting at times, and you're always with people, your friends. It's just a good time at my age." (Subcultural Anomie)

> "Some of my classes are really good and I guess that I'm being educated. I really like the social thing. You get to meet a lot of people." (Full Anomie)

> "The real reason [I like school]? That's where your friends are. After you leave school you don't see them in one place like that." (Cultural Unity)

> "It's a meeting place and there's your friends. New experiences, but you can get many of those new experiences out of school so maybe it's not so important." (Pluralistic Value Disagreement)

> "I think it's the kids. I kind of feel that I get just as much out of school taking correspondence courses, but it just doesn't give you the experience that school does with other kids." (Full Anomie)

> "What do I like? Not having to work, seeing my friends, all the things that are going on. It sure beats working. I kind of wish I were in grade one again." (Cultural Unity)

> "Being together with people you know, having fun together, meeting a lot of new friends." (Full Anomie)

The observation that a statistically significant association exists in the sample between these young people with subjective definitions of subcultural and full anomie and the value-idea that school is a good place to meet and be with friends is fully consistent with the theoretical perspective advanced in chapter III. First, to the extent that adjustment to the anomie of weakened plausibility structures is understood to be a collective enterprise in the establishment and affirmation of a sufficient nomos, it is not unreasonable that the subcultural and full anomie subgroups would so indicate a greater preoccupation with supportive interpersonal relationships. Second, in that the two subgroups are defined by the apprehension of anomic conditions and the concomitant experience of weakened plausibility structures, these young people would not be expected to cite traditional legitimations of socially mandated activity as readily as would respondents who report subjective definitions of pluralistic value disagreement or cultural unity.

Career Plans

It was expected that those young people selecting subjective definitions of subcultural or full anomie would be less likely to have definite career plans. In the sample however, there was little difference between the acknowledged plans of respondents across the four subgroups and the hypothesis was rejected.[4]

Deviation from Conduct Norms

Deviation from school conduct norms was measured by a ten-item Likert-type scale. Respondents were presented questions dealing with behaviors which could violate school rules and asked to indicate the frequency of their own behavior from "never" to "almost always." To encourage truthful responses, the young people were again assured of the complete confidentiality of this inventory and the questions were completed privately by the respondent as part of the questionnaire on school experiences.

It was hypothesized that the subcultural and full anomie subgroups would be characterized by higher mean scores for such deviation. As indicated by the data in table 6:15, this expectation was about half right. The highest mean score was registered by the young people who had selected subjective definitions of subcultural anomie, while very unexpectedly, the full anomie subgroup was characterized by the lowest mean score. However, neither the analysis of variance of the four subgroup means nor the comparison of paired means revealed any statistically significant differences. In addition, the analysis of responses to the individual scale items also failed to show statistically significant patterns. It is therefore concluded that there are no real differences between the subgroups in reported deviation from school conduct norms. The hypothesis is rejected.

Table 6:15. Subjective Definitions by Mean Scores for Deviation from School Conduct Norms

Category of Subjective Definition				
C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	Total Sample
$\bar{X}=20.41$ s=4.33 n=27	$\bar{X}=20.33$ s=3.63 n=12	$\bar{X}=22.18$ s=5.85 n=22	$\bar{X}=19.53$ s=3.76 n=19	$\bar{X}=20.54$ s=5.02 n=80
F= 1.24, p >.05				

Table 6:16. Subjective Definitions by School Conduct Norms Items[5]

	Subjective Definition				
Item	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	Sample Totals
	n=27 %	n=12 %	n=22 %	n=19 %	n=80 %
"How often are you late for class?"[a]					
Sometimes/often/ almost always:	37	42	41	26	36
"How often do you skip classes?"[b]					
Sometimes/often:	33	42	41	37	38
"How often do you come to class unprepared?"[c]					
Sometimes/often/ almost always:	63	58	59	37	55

....continued

Table 6:16. Subjective Definitions by School Conduct Norms Items (continued).

	Subjective Definition				
Item	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	Sample Totals
	n=27 %	n=12 %	n=22 %	n=19 %	n=80 %
"How often do you do your best work in school?"[d]					
Sometimes/seldom/never:	41	50	41	26	39
"How often do you goof-off in class so others can't work?"[e]					
Sometimes/often/ almost always:	33	--	32	16	24
"How often do you do things that you know will make the teacher angry?"[f]					
Seldom/sometimes/often/ almost always:	59	67	59	42	56
"How often do you fight or argue with other students?"[g]					
Seldom/sometimes/often/ almost always:	74	58	86	68	71
"How often do you cheat on tests or exams?"[h]					
Seldom/sometimes/often/ almost always:	48	50	68	42	53
"How often do you hand in sloppy or incomplete assignments?"[i]					
Sometimes/often:	19	17	32	21	23
"How often do you copy someone else's assignments?"[j]					
Seldom/sometimes/often/ almost always:	37	50	50	42	44

a. $X^2 = 1.178$, df=3, $p > .05$
b. $X^2 = 9.155$, df=6, $p > .05$
c. $X^2 = 3.425$, df=3, $p > .05$
d. $X^2 = 1.966$, df=3, $p > .05$
e. $X^2 = 8.374$, df=6, $p > .05$
f. $X^2 = 2.245$, df=3, $p > .05$
g. $X^2 = 5.187$, df=6, $p > .05$
h. $X^2 = 3.228$, df=3, $p > .05$
i. $X^2 = 3.259$, df=6, $p > .05$
j. $X^2 = 1.055$, df=3, $p > .05$

Employment Experience

The employment status of the young people in the sample was previously considered as part of the discussion of indicators of individual social situations in chapter V. Of the two variables tested at that time, it was determined that a slightly greater proportion of the full anomie subgroup held paying jobs than did respondents in the other three categories while a greater proportion of both the subcultural and full anomie subgroups indicated having been employed for a comparatively greater length of time. Neither of these observed patterns was, however, statistically significant.[6]

Four additional aspects of the young people's work experience were considered here, including the type of job, hours worked, income derived, and a crude measure of job satisfaction. None of these additional relationships between subjective definitions and employment experience were statistically significant.

All of the various jobs reported by the 56 respondents who were currently employed could be grouped in one of two classifications, unskilled and semi-skilled. The category of unskilled occupation included such jobs as pump attendant at a service station, part-time clerk in a store, and clean-up or janatorial positions. The category of semi-skilled occupation included such jobs as machine operator or short order cook. As indicated by table 6:17, there was a slight tendency for a greater proportion of young people with subjective definitions of subcultural or full anomie to report unskilled employment.

In terms of hours worked and income received, the young people in the subcultural anomie subgroup tended to indicate both comparatively fewer hours worked and less income derived from their jobs. The full anomie subgroup, however, indicated that their hours of work per week were comparable to the sample totals but reported slightly greater income.[7] Both the subcultural and full anomie subgroups indicated having held their jobs comparatively longer than did the young people in the cultural unity or pluralistic value disagreement categories as shown in table 6:18.

Table 6:17. Subjective Definitions by Type of Employment.

Type of Employment	Subjective Definition				Sample Totals
	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	
	n=18 %	n=8 %	n=14 %	n=16 %	n=56 %
Unskilled:	67	63	79	81	73
Semi-skilled:	33	38	21	19	27
	100	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 1.593, p > .05$

Table 6:18. Subjective Definitions by Length of Time in Job.

Length of Time in Job	Subjective Definition				Sample Totals
	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	
	n=18 %	n=8 %	n=14 %	n=16 %	n=56 %
Six months or less:	44	25	14	19	27
Six to twelve months:	40	50	50	31	41
More than twelve months:	17	25	36	50	32
	100	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 7.242, p > .05$

On the measure of job satisfaction, there was no difference in the ratings of the four subgroups. Half of the young people rated themselves as very satisfied with their job while the remainder, with two exceptions, were somewhat satisfied. No one in the sample rated their job experience as very unsatisfactory.[8]

Summary

With regard to the primary instrumental activity of young people, attending school and getting an education, it was generally expected that those respondents who apprehend socio-cultural conditions of anomie would report a lower commitment to conventional educational participation and values than would the young people in the sample who did not report the experience of anomie. A number of substantive hypotheses were tested including the expectations that subjective definitions of subcultural and full anomie would be associated with less typical study habits, lower motivation for grades, lower reported academic standing, comparatively less commitment to conventional educational values, greater reported deviation from school conduct norms, and less definite career plans.

To the extent that the study intended an examination of the utility of a reformulation of anomie theory as a general explanation of youth phenomena, the results of this aspect of the analysis were somewhat disconcerting. By the criterion of statistical significance, none of the hypotheses could be accepted.

Notwithstanding, the data are not unequivocally negative. Certain substantively important observations remain. With the exception of the slightly lower mean scores for the full anomie subgroup on the measure of reported deviation from school conduct norms, the patterns of association observed in the testing of five of the six hypotheses were in the predicted direction. In addition, for two items when the respondents were allowed unstructured subjective response, statistically significant differences were observed to be consistent with the theoretical framework. Thus, young people in the subcultural and full anomie subgroups were less likely to report the conventional student practice of studying as a factor in academic success. Similarly, respondents in these two subgroups were much more likely to volunteer the value of school as a place to meet and be with friends.

The test of the sixth hypothesis, that subjective definitions of subcultural and full anomie would be associated with less definite career plans, indicated no difference between the subgroups. In relation to the remaining five hypotheses, the following statements summarize the substantive observations, but statistically nonsignificant, observations.

1. Slightly lower mean scores for study habits were observed for the subcultural and full anomie subgroups suggesting a lower acceptance of conventional student obligations.
2. The interpretation of scale scores for motivation for grades is complicated by the intervening variable, parental SES. In general, lower mean scores for motivation for grades were associated with greater parental SES. For respondents characterized by higher scores for parental SES, the relationship between definitions of socio-cultural conditions and motivation for grades followed the expected direction with comparatively higher mean scores for the cultural unity and pluralistic value disagreement subgroups and lower mean scores for subcultural and full anomie. The higher subsample mean score for motivation for grades associated with those young people characterized by lower scores for

parental SES is entirely accounted for by the mean score for full anomie in this subsample which is inexplicably high. The mean scores for the remaining three subgroups fit the expected pattern.

3. The measure of reported academic standing showed comparatively higher grades for the cultural unity and pluralistic value disagreement subgroups and, also among their number, all three of the respondents who reported having skipped a grade in school. The subcultural and full anomie subgroups were characterized by comparatively lower grades and included five of the seven students who acknowledged having ever failed a grade in school. When the respondents were asked to cite the ingredients for academic success, the young people in the cultural unity and pluralistic value disagreement subgroups were significantly more likely to include a mention of the conventional expectation, studying.

4. Greater support for conventional educational values was observed to be associated with subjective definitions of cultural unity and pluralistic value disagreement, particularly the latter. In response to the open-ended question, "What do you like best about school," respondents in the subcultural and full anomie subgroups were more likely to rate school as a place to meet and be with friends.

5. Greater reported deviation from school conduct norms was observed, as expected, to characterize young people with subjective definitions of subcultural anomie. Unexpectedly, the least reported deviation was observed to be associated with definitions of full anomie.[9]

EXPRESSIVE ACTIVITY

Introduction

The principal areas for expressive behavior among young people involve peer relations and leisure time activities. Several aspects of peer relations were considered in the study including reported frequencies of visiting with friends, the number of evenings spent outside the home in leisure activity during the week, frequency of dating, and the reported number of close friends. One Likert-type scale was also employed for a measure of peer independence.

Patterns of social participation were surveyed over a range of leisure time activities as well as participation in formal groups and a measure of extracurricular participation in school activities.

Visiting with Friends

One measure of the peer relations of young people is their reported frequency of visiting with friends, in the friends' homes as well as in their own homes. Greater dependence on peers which was hypothesized as being associated with the apprehension of anomic qualities in socio-cultural conditions and the experience of weakening plausibility structures was expected to be manifest here with greater frequency of visiting behavior being reported by the subcultural and full anomie subgroups.

As indicated by table 6:19, the lowest frequencies in visiting behavior were reported by the young people who define socio-cultural conditions as pluralistic value disagreement. The highest frequencies, as expected, were associated with subjective definitions of full anomie. The pattern of more frequent visiting with friends which was also expected to be associated with subjective definitions of subcultural anomie was not observed. Also confounding the expected relationship were the comparatively large number of young people with subjective definitions of subcultural or full anomie who reported comparatively infrequent visiting in friends' homes.

Thus, although there is some evidence of the predicted patterns, the hypothesis is rejected.

Table 6:19. Subjective Definitions by Visiting Behavior.

Frequency of Visits	Subjective Definition C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	Sample Totals
	n=27 %	n=12 %	n=22 %	n=19 %	n=80 %
In Friends' Homes					
Once a week or less:	19	17	32	37	26
2 or 3 times a week:	52	75	46	21	46
4 times a week or more:	27	8	23	42	28
	100	100	100	100	100
$X^2 = 10.349, p > .05$					
In Own Home					
Less than once a week:	19	33	27	21	24
Once a week:	22	25	23	11	20
Twice a week or more:	59	42	50	68	56
	100	100	100	100	100
$X^2 = 3.250, p > .05$					

Evening Activity Outside the Home

Another indicator of greater dependence on peers would be the number of evenings a week spent outside the home with friends. It was predicted that those young people with subjective definitions of subcultural and full anomie would report spending a greater number of evenings a week in such activity. As shown by the data in table 6:20, something of this expected pattern was observed with 64 per cent of the subcultural anomie subgroup and 47 per cent of the respondents in the full anomie category reporting going out four evenings a week or more as compared with 30 per cent and 42 per cent for the subgroups of cultural unity and pluralistic value disagreement respectively. Conversely, only 5 per cent of the subcultural anomie subgroup and 16 per cent of the full anomie subgroup reported frequencies of twice a week or less as compared with nearly one-third of the remaining subgroups.

The observed relationship, however, fails to meet the standard for statistical significance and the hypothesis is rejected.

Although no formal hypothesis was presented concerning dating behavior, it was similarly expected that the subcultural and full anomie subgroups would be characterized by more frequent dating. However, while a tendency in this direction was observed as shown in table 6:21, the relationship is not statistically significant.

Number of Close Friends

While the young people who would select subjective definitions of subcultural or full anomie were predicted to report greater dependence on peer relations, it was also expected that for these respondents to whom weakening plausibility structures were apparent, the maintaining of diverse close personal relationships would be more problematic. Thus it was hypothesized that subjective definitions of subcultural or full anomie would be associated with fewer reported close friends.

As shown by table 6:22, those young people selecting definitions of subcultural anomie did report comparatively fewer close friends. However the greatest number of close friends was indicated by the full anomie subgroup in contradiction of the hypothesis. Thus, while the obser-

Table 6:20. Subjective Definitions by Evenings Spent Outside the Home.

Evenings Away From Home	Subjective Definition C.U.	 P.V.C.	 S.A.	 F.A.	Sample Totals
	n=27 %	n=12 %	n=22 %	n=19 %	n=80 %
Two or fewer:	30	33	5	16	20
Three:	41	25	32	37	35
Four or five:	22	25	41	26	29
Six or seven:	7	17	23	21	16
	100	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 9.561,\ p > .05$

Table 6:21. Subjective Definitions by Frequency of Dating.

Frequency of Dating	Subjective Definition C.U.	 P.V.D.	 S.A.	 F.A.	Sample Totals
	n=27 %	n=12 %	n=22 %	n=19 %	n=80 %
Rarely or never:	30	25	23	21	25
Occasionally/ 2 or 3 times a month:	33	33	27	21	29
Once a week:	15	8	9	32	16
Twice a week or more:	22	33	41	26	30
	100	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 6.575,\ p > .05$

ved patterns are significantly different, the hypothesis must be rejected.

Peer Independence

The general measure of peer dependence/independence employed in this study is a seven-item Likert-type scale for which higher scores indicate

Table 6:22. Subjective Definitions by Number of Close Friends.

Number of Close Friends	Subjective Definition C.U.	 P.V.D.	 S.A.	 F.A.	Sample Totals
	n=27 %	n=12 %	n=22 %	n=19 %	n=80 %
Three or fewer:	30	33	27	11	25
Four or five:	26	33	64	37	40
Six or more:	45	33	9	53	35
	100	100	100	100	100

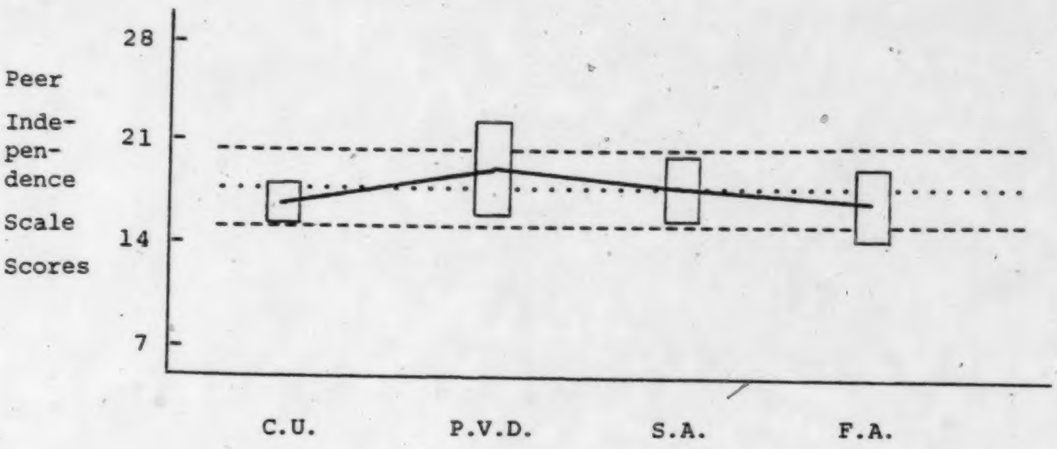
$X^2 = 13.398$, $p < .05$

a relative autonomy with respect to peers while lower scores suggest greater dependence. The scale was adapted from an original scale developed by Peterson who suggested that young people with high scores tend not to be concerned with how their behavior appears to their peers, not to consult with them about personal matters and the like. Low scores on the other hand suggest conformity to prevailing peer norms.[10]

It was hypothesized that the predicted greater dependence on relationships with friends that was expected to be associated with subjective definitions of socio-cultural conditions as subcultural or full anomie would be observed here as comparatively lower scale scores.

As shown in figure 6:1 and indicated by the data in table 6:23, the mean scores for the subcultural and full anomie subgroups were in fact lower than the sample norm. However, while the mean score for the pluralistic value disagreement subgroup was higher, the comparative low scores for those respondents defining socio-cultural conditions as cultural unity were unexpected. These observed relationships remained after controls

Figure 6:1. Mean Scores for Peer Independence by Subjective Definition.



...... Total Sample Mean.
------ Limits of ± one standard deviation about sample mean.
——— Connects subgroup means.
Vertical bars have height proportionate to one standard deviation above and below subgroup mean.

Table 6:23. Subjective Definitions by Mean Scores for Peer Independence.

Category of Subjective Definition				
C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	Total Sample
$\bar{X}=16.78$ s=1.80 n=27	$\bar{X}=19.25$ s=3.36 n=12	$\bar{X}=17.23$ s=2.37 n=22	$\bar{X}=16.74$ s=2.45 n=19	$\bar{X}=17.26$ s=2.50 n=80

$F= 3.44$, $p < .05$

were introduced for parental SES.[11]

Consideration of the individual scale items as shown by table 6:24 reveals the extent to which the questions discriminated among the young people in the four subgroups.

In response to the question: "As a description of yourself, how accurate is the following statement: 'I am one of a group of close friends, and we do most things together'?" a statistically significant patterning of responses was observed consistent with the hypothesis. Of the full anomie subgroup, 90 per cent rated this an accurate statement with 47 per cent considering it to be very accurate. For the subcultural anomie subgroup, these proportions were 68 per cent and 14 per cent, while for the young people who would define socio-cultural conditions as cultural unity, the corresponding proportions were 74 per cent rating the statement as accurate with 22 per cent reporting it to be very accurate. In contrast, only 33 per cent of the pluralistic value disagreement subgroup rated the statement as accurate while 67 per cent consider the statement to be "not particularly accurate" or "definitely inaccurate."

Table 6:24. Subjective Definitions by Peer Independence Scale Items.

Item	Subjective Definition				Sample Totals
	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	
	n=27 %	n=12 %	n=22 %	n=19 %	n=80 %
Leisure time spent talking with friends per week.[a]					
16 hours or more:	22	8	32	26	24
11 to 15 hours:	33	50	22	21	30
6 to 10 hours:	37	17	32	26	30
1 to 5 hours:	7	25	14	26	16
	100	100	100	100	100
Description of self as one of a group of close friends.[b]					
Very accurate:	22	8	14	47	24
Fairly accurate:	52	25	55	42	46
Inaccurate:	26	67	32	11	30
	100	100	100	100	100

....continued.

Table 6:24. Subjective Definitions by Peer Independence Scale Items (continued).

Item	Subjective Definition				Sample Totals
	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	
	n=27 %	n=12 %	n=22 %	n=19 %	n=80 %
Will maintain views despite friends losing patience.[c]					
Rarely/occasionally:	33	17	32	16	26
Quite often:	45	25	50	58	46
Very often:	22	58	18	26	28
	100	100	100	100	100
Ignore opinions of friends when doing important task.[d]					
Rarely/never:	48	67	46	47	50
Occasionally/frequently:	52	33	55	53	50
	100	100	100	100	100
Consult close friends on important decisions.[e]					
Usually/always:	70	42	64	68	64
Seldom/never:	30	58	36	32	36
	100	100	100	100	100
Could become so involved in some activity as to lose interest in friends.[f]					
Definitely not/ Extremely unlikely:	67	25	55	58	55
Some probability/ Quite possible:	33	75	46	42	45
	100	100	100	100	100
Consider friends' reactions before doing something.[g]					
Usually/always:	59	42	46	53	51
Sometimes/usually not:	41	58	55	47	49
	100	100	100	100	100

a. $X^2 = 8.887$, df=9, $p > .05$

b. $X^2 = 16.343$, df=6, $p < .05$

c. $X^2 = 8.929$, df=6, $p > .05$

d. $X^2 = 1.605$, df=3, $p > .05$

e. $X^2 = 3.224$, df=3, $p > .05$

f. $X^2 = 5.915$, df=3, $p > .05$

g. $X^2 = 1.445$, df=3, $p > .05$

In general, the pluralistic value disagreement subgroup sees itself as spending less time talking with friends, as more likely to maintain their views in the face of peer opposition, as less likely to consult with close friends on important decisions or consider their reactions before doing something, and consider it more possible that they could become involved in some activity to the extent that they might lose interest in their friends. Ironically, this subgroup also rated itself as least likely to ignore the opinions of others when doing some important task.

Conversely, the remaining three subgroups all tend to rate themselves as more likely to consult close friends on important decisions and less likely to become involved in some activity to the exclusion of their friends. The cultural unity and subcultural anomie subgroups rate themselves as somewhat less likely to maintain views which are unpopular with their friends while both cultural unity and full anomie subgroups consider themselves as more likely to consider their friends' reactions before doing something. Interestingly, a greater proportion of the subcultural and full anomie subgroups report spending a great deal of time, 16 hours a week or more, talking with friends, yet the greatest proportion reporting very few hours, one to five per week, are also to be found among the young people selecting definitions of full anomie.

The lower mean scores for the subcultural and full anomie subgroups for peer independence and the patterning of responses to the seven items justify an acceptance of the hypothesis. Young people who would apprehend anomic qualities of socio-cultural conditions and concomitant weakened plausibility structures are observed in the sample as regarding themselves as more dependent on peer support and peer relations.

It is important, however, to also note that patterns of peer dependence also characterize those young people who would define socio-cultural conditions as cultural unity. While from the hypothesis, this observation was not expected, it is not fully inconsistent with the theory if acknowledgement is given to the character of the cultural unity subgroup in this sample. As indicated in chapter V, a majority of respondents who selected the statement of cultural unity as the most accurate description of their understanding of socio-cultural conditions also failed to discover the underlying theoretical continuum of possibilities by selecting as the second most accurate description, the statements of either subcultural or full anomie. Consideration of the subjective interpretations which explained these choices showed that while these fifteen young people generally considered the nomos of their direct personal experience to be unity, they remained conscious of weakened plausibility structures in the larger socio-cultural context. Thus, with respect to the data in tables 6:23 and 6:24, it would be plausible to speculate that for this majority of the cultural unity subgroup, the observed peer dependence would indicate the function of supportive peer relations as an affirmation of the essential unity in direct experience and as a shield against the suspected anomie of more general social and cultural conditions.

Formal Group Participation

The relationship between subjective definitions of socio-cultural conditions and membership in formal groups and associations was previously considered as part of the discussion of indicators of individual social situations. It was expected that regularized participation in such groups would contribute some order to the nomos of individual experience and thus such memberships would be inversely related to the apprehension of anomie. However, no statistically significant differences were observed in the sample and the hypothesis was rejected.[12]

An additional aspect of such memberships which was to be considered at this time is the nature of participation as indicated by frequency of attendance and offices held. In general it was observed that young people in the cultural unity and pluralistic value disagreement subgroups reported themselves to be slightly more regular in their participation while respondents in the subcultural and full anomie categories were somewhat more likely to hold office. However, because these observations are far from being statistically significant and because of the small numbers involved (approximately three-quarters of the sample do not hold formal group memberships), no conclusions are warranted.

Extracurricular Involvement

Extracurricular involvement was indicated by a four-item scale which incorporated the respondents' reported frequencies of participation in the school's intramural sports program, student government, and school-sponsored special interest groups together with the total number of hours per week which are estimated to be spent in extracurricular activity. It was hypothesized that young epople with subjective definitions of subcultural and full anomie would be associated with lower patterns of extracurricular involvement.

As indicated by the mean scores in table 6:25, there was virtually no difference between the scores of the four subgroups and the hypothesis was therefore rejected.[13]

The one observation that is warranted by these data is that levels of extracurricular involvement are low for the sample as a whole. It is not just that such involvement is low for the subcultural or full anomie subgroups, but for all young people in the sample.[14]

Table 6:25. Subjective Definitions by Mean Scores for Extracurricular Involvement.

Category of Subjective Definition				
C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	Total Sample
$\bar{X}$=6.50	$\bar{X}$=6.92	$\bar{X}$=6.27	$\bar{X}$=6.83	$\bar{X}$=6.58
s=1.53	s=1.44	s=1.80	s=1.47	s=1.58
n=24	n=12	n=22	n=18	n=76*

F= 0.63, $p > .05$

* Four respondents failed to answer one or more questions.

Leisure Activities

Respondents were presented with a questionnaire containing a non-inclusive list of 19 separate patterns of leisure time use. The instructions requested that each activity be rated in terms of the respondents' frequency of participation on a set of response-alternatives ranging from never through rarely, occasionally, and fairly often, to frequently.

While some differences in patterns of leisure time use were expected, no specific hypotheses were presented. Notwithstanding, no great differences were observed between the four subgroups.

In the sample as a whole, the young people indicated some participation in nearly all the listed activities. The average number of activities mentioned was 17 of the 19 listed, with 96 per cent of the sample reporting at least 14. No differences were observed between the subgroups either in the number of separate activities mentioned or in the number for which regular participation was reported.

Analysis of the comparative frequencies reported for each of the activities separately revealed no differentiating pattern of participation in seven of the 19, including attending small parties, shopping, reading a magazine or newspaper, spectating at a live sporting event, reading a book, or participating in individual or team sports.[15]

Patterns of participation in the remaining 12 activities are indicated in table 6:26. These data are summarized in figure 6:2.

Young people who define socio-cultural conditions as cultural unity are thus understood to report comparatively greater participation in special hobbies and music and greater frequency of attending movies. Conversely, these young people are slightly less likely to attend large social functions such as dances or to do volunteer work in some community or social service. Participation by the respondents in this subgroup in the remaining seven activities approximates the sample norms.

In their selections, those who experience pluralistic value disagreement are more active in their orientation towards the use of leisure time. These young people are less likely to spend time playing a musical instrument or watching television or to devote much time to casual contacts with friends or to spend time sitting and thinking. The comparatively fewer casual contacts with friends is consistent with this subgroup's comparative peer independence.

Respondents selecting subjective definitions of subcultural anomie report themselves as most likely to attend large social functions such as dances or banquets and least likely to work on special hobbies or go to a movie. It is also this subgroup, which is characterized by greatest awareness of generational conflict and comparatively lower scores on the measure of family relations, that rates itself as least likely to spend time in casual conversations with members of their families or do odd jobs around the house.

Table 6:26. Subjective Definitions by Reported Participation in Selected Leisure Activities.

Activity	Subjective Definition				Sample Totals
	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	
	n=27	n=12	n=22	n=19	n=80
	%	%	%	%	%
Attend large social event.[a]					
Rarely/never:	30	17	14	16	20
Occasionally:	30	42	27	37	33
Often/frequently:	41	42	59	47	48
	100	100	100	100	100
Attend a cultural event.[b]					
Never:	37	25	27	21	29
Rarely:	45	58	50	42	48
Occasionally/frequently:	19	17	23	37	23
	100	100	100	100	100
Go to a movie.[c]					
Rarely/occasionally:	33	58	55	53	48
Often/frequently:	67	42	46	47	52
	100	100	100	100	100
Work on special hobbies.[d]					
Rarely/never:	48	50	73	47	55
Occasionally/frequently:	52	50	27	53	45
	100	100	100	100	100
Fishing, hunting, camping.[e]					
Rarely/never:	26	33	27	21	26
Occasionally:	48	25	27	26	34
Often/frequently:	26	42	46	53	40
	100	100	100	100	100
Spend time sitting and thinking.[f]					
Rarely/never:	37	25	23	32	30
Occasionally:	33	67	46	26	40
Often/frequently:	30	8	32	42	30
	100	100	100	100	100

....continued.

Table 6:26. Subjective Definitions by Reported Participation in Selected Leisure Activities (continued).

Activity	Subjective Definition				Sample Totals
	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	
	n=27	n=12	n=22	n=19	n=80
	%	%	%	%	%
Volunteer in community or social service.[g]					
Never:	41	8	23	26	28
Rarely:	37	67	50	21	41
Occasionally/frequently:	22	25	27	53	31
	100	100	100	100	100
Write personal letters.[h]					
Never:	33	58	41	26	38
Rarely:	37	8	41	37	34
Occasionally/frequently:	30	33	18	37	29
	100	100	100	100	100
Play musical instrument.[i]					
Never:	52	50	64	58	56
Rarely:	7	33	14	21	16
Occasionally/frequently:	41	17	23	21	28
	100	100	100	100	100
Spend time with family.[j]					
Rarely/occasionally:	41	58	64	58	54
Often/frequently:	59	42	36	42	46
	100	100	100	100	100
Casual contacts with friends.[k]					
Rarely/occasionally:	48	67	41	42	48
Often/frequently:	52	33	59	58	53
	100	100	100	100	100
Watch television.[l]					
Rarely/occasionally:	44	67	41	53	49
Often/frequently:	56	33	59	47	51
	100	100	100	100	100

---

a. X^2= 3.574, df=6, p >.05

b. X^2= 3.552, df=6, p >.05

c. X^2= 3.376, df=3, p >.05

d. X^2= 3.874, df=3, p >.05

e. X^2= 5.217, df=6, p >.05

f. X^2= 7.267, df=6, p >.05

g. X^2=11.544, df=6, p >.05

h. X^2= 6.369, df=6, p >.05

i. X^2= 6.918, df=6, p >.05

j. X^2= 2.936, df=3, p >.05

k. X^2= 2.377, df=3, p >.05

l. X^2= 2.398, df=3, p >.05

Figure 6:2. Comparison of Mean Participation for Selected Leisure Activities by Subjective Definitions.

Activity	Subjective Definition				Sample Norm*
	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	
Attend large social event:	-	0	+	0	3.49
Attend a cultural event:	0	0	0	+	2.03
Go to a movie:	+	0	-	0	3.59
Work on special hobbies:	+	0	-	0	2.65
Fishing, hunting, camping:	0	0	0	+	3.21
Sitting and thinking:	0	-	0	0	2.98
Volunteer work:	-	0	0	+	2.16
Write personal letters:	0	0	0	+	2.03
Musical instrument/sing:	+	-	0	0	1.99
Spend time with family:	0	0	-	0	3.51
Contacts with friends:	0	-	0	0	3.53
Watch television:	0	-	0	0	3.49

- Indicates subgroup mean less than 0.25 below sample norm.
+ Indicates subgroup mean greater than 0.25 above sample norm.
0 Indicates subgroup mean approximates sample norm, i.e., within ±0.25.

---

* Sample norms are determined by averaging responses with never = 1, rarely = 2, etc. Higher sample norms thus indicate greater frequency of participation.[16]

It is the full anomie subgroup, which might have been expected to report a comparatively low rate of social participation, that proves most interesting in this analysis. First, it is noted that in none of the activities were the reported participation rates for these young people markedly below the sample norms. In fact, it is this subgroup that is characterized by the greatest average number of separate activities mentioned and the greatest average number of separate activities in which regular participation was reported.

In addition, respondents in this subgroup report slightly greater participation in several activities which might be considered atypical for the general population of youth. In addition to greater participation in outdoor activities such as fishing, hunting, camping, comparatively greater participation is indicated in attending cultural events such as art exhibits, poetry readings or professional theatre, doing volunteer work in community and social service, and writing personal letters to friends and relatives.[17]

Summary

The following statements may be said to summarize the analysis of expressive activity for the four subgroups.

1. Patterns of greater reported peer independence were found to characterize those young people selecting subjective definitions of pluralistic value disagreement. Conversely, lower reported peer independence, interpreted as greater dependence on peer relations and peer support, were found to be associated with subjective definitions of subcultural and full anomie as was predicted by the hypothesis. However, patterns of greater peer dependence also characterized the cultural unity subgroup. While this latter observation remains somewhat disconcerting, as discussed, it does not necessarily invalidate the hypothesis. Nevertheless, some caution is indicated for the interpretation of peer independence scores.
2. Analysis of visiting behavior proved inconclusive with greater reported frequencies associated with subjective definitions of full anomie, as expected, but not with subcultural anomie, which was not expected.
3. In statistically non-significant patterns, young people in the subcultural and full anomie subgroups report spending more evenings each week outside the home and also more frequent dating.

4. The fewest number of close friends was reported by respondents in the subcultural anomie subgroup as was predicted. However, the greatest number of close friends was reported, contrary to the hypothesis, by young people with subjective definitions of full anomie and the hypothesis was rejected.

5. No differences were observed between the four subgroups on reported participation in formal groups and associations or in extracurricular participation.

6. Analysis of patterns of leisure time use provides the following generalizations about the leisure activities of the young people in the sample: subjective definitions of cultural unity tend to be associated with slightly greater participation in solitary activities; the pluralistic value disagreement subgroup is comparatively more active in its leisure activities and less reflective or contemplative; definitions of subcultural anomie are more likely to be associated with activities which would take the individual out of the home; and the leisure activities of those young people with definitions of full anomie are generally more extensive than was expected with a comparatively greater emphasis upon atypical patterns.

DELINQUENCY AND DEVIATION

Introduction

A central concern in both the theoretical and research literature of the concept of anomie has been the relationship of anomie to deviant behavior.[18] It is inevitable, therefore, that the reformulation of the concept which has been advanced by this study should be tested against measures of deviancy.

A 21-item self report checklist was developed for this purpose by the adaptation of similar existing instruments.[19] The checklist was offered to the respondents as an optional questionnaire at the close of the interview with elaborate guarantees for both confidentiality and anonymity. All of the young people in the sample agreed to complete the checklist and only one respondent failed to answer only one question.

The items were designed to form a composite Likert-type scale. However, for convenience in presentation, the items will be discussed in the following pages under four separate headings although, technically, all of the behaviors included in the checklist constitute delinquency. The test for differences in mean scores for the composite scale is included in the summary of this section.

Deviance in Family Conduct

Four items are appropriate for consideration under this heading. Respondents were asked to report the frequency in the past two years with which they have been out at night just "fooling around" when they were supposed to be at home, how often they have fought with their parents, how often they have run away from home, and whether they had actually hit their father. Their response patterns are shown in table 6:27.

While none of the observed patterns are statistically significant, a slight tendency towards greater deviation in family conduct is reported by the respondents in the subcultural anomie subgroup. Again it will be recalled that these young people are, by their earlier admission, more inclined to recognize conflict between generations and report the least positive family relations.

Comparatively less deviation in family conduct is reported by the young people who would define social and cultural conditions as pluralistic value disagreement. The comparatively lower amount of deviation reported by the full anomie subgroup is contrary to expectation. The review of the literature tended to suggest that these young people would be associated with the greater patterns of deviance.

Table 6:27. Subjective Definitions by Patterns of Deviance in Family Conduct.

Item	Subjective Definition				
	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	Sample Totals
	n=27	n=12	n=22	n=19	n=80
	%	%	%	%	%
Out at night when supposed to be at home.[a]					
Never:	19	18	9	26	16
Rarely:	30	50	32	26	33
Occasionally/frequently:	52	42	59	47	51
	100	100	100	100	100
Argues or fought with either parent.[b]					
Never:	19	25	18	26	21
Rarely:	30	58	27	42	36
Occasionally/often:	52	17	55	32	43
	100	100	100	100	100
Run away from home.[c]					
Never:	89	92	82	95	89
Rarely/occasionally:	11	8	18	5	11
	100	100	100	100	100
Hit your father.[d]					
Never:	100	100	91	95	96
Rarely:	---	---	9	5	4
	100	100	100	100	100

a. X^2= 4.390, df=6, p >.05
b. X^2= 6.835, df=6, p >.05
c. X^2= 1.844, df=3, p >.05
d. Cell frequencies too small to calculate X^2.

Also of interest are the somewhat greater patterns reported by the cultural unity subgroup. It is this category in which such deviance associated with pluralistic value disagreement. Other expectations are confounded.

Deviance in Personal Conduct

Five of the checklist items are considered under this heading. These concern the use of alcohol and drugs and sexual relations.[20] The data are shown by table 6:28. There are no statistically significant differences between the four subgroups.

The data confirm the understanding that alcohol is the drug of choice among the young people in the sample. Of the total sample, 88 per cent report having illegally consumed alcohol while 83 per cent admit having been drunk on at least one occasion. By contrast, only 40 per cent report having at least tried other drugs.

Table 6:28. Subjective Definitions by Patterns of Deviance in Personal Conduct.

Item	Subjective Definition				Sample Totals
	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	
	n=27 %	n=12 %	n=22 %	n=19 %	n=80 %
"Consumed wine or liquor when it was illegal to do so."[a]					
Rarely/never:	22	42	23	26	26
Occasionally:	37	25	23	21	28
Fairly often:	26	8	32	5	20
Frequently:	15	25	23	47	26
	100	100	100	100	100

....continued.

Table 6:28. Subjective Definitions by Patterns of Deviance in Personal Conduct (continued).

Item	Subjective Definition				Sample Totals
	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	
	n=27	n=12	n=22	n=19	n=80
	%	%	%	%	%
"Gotten drunk."[b]					
Never:	19	17	14	21	18
Rarely:	30	33	14	21	24
Occasionally:	22	33	41	26	30
Often/frequently:	30	17	32	32	29
	100	100	100	100	100
"Used cannabis drugs. (Marijuana or Hashish)"[c]					
Never:	56	50	64	68	60
Ever:	44	50	36	32	40
	100	100	100	100	100
"Used other illegal chemical drugs or narcotics."[d]					
Never:	93	92	86	74	86
Ever:	7	8	14	26	14
	100	100	100	100	100
"Had sex relations with a girl."[e]					
Never:	37	58	41	11	35
Rarely:	26	8	14	44	24
Occasionally:	30	17	27	33	28
Often/frequently:	7	17	18	11	13
	100	100	100	100*	100**

* n=18, one respondent failed to answer this question.

** n=79.

a. $X^2 = 12.322$, df=9, $p > .05$

b. $X^2 = 4.497$, df=9, $p > .05$

c. $X^2 = 1.405$, df=3, $p > .05$

d. $X^2 = 3.743$, df=3, $p > .05$

e. $X^2 = 12.434$, df=9, $p > .05$

The illegal consumption of alcohol is observed to be slightly more associated with definitions of subcultural or full anomie while the subcultural anomie subgroup reports greater drinking to excess. The least admitted experience with alcohol is reported by the pluralistic value disagreement subgroup.

Conversely, the reported use of cannabis drugs is slightly more related to subjective definitions of cultural unity and pluralistic value disagreement, particularly the latter. However, the reported frequencies on the use of narcotics or illicit chemicals suggest that the use of drugs by the young people in the subcultural and full anomie subgroups is more likely to include the "hard drugs." This is particularly true of respondents defining socio-cultural conditions as full anomie, one-quarter of whom report such use.

The comparative frequencies of sexual intercourse reported in the sample suggest that this behavior is most likely in the experience of the young people in the full anomie subgroup. Both pluralistic value disagreement and subcultural anomie subgroups report lower frequencies of sexual relations.

Delinquent Behavior

The four items considered in this section are grouped here primarily for convenience. The behaviors are representative of what is sometimes referred to as youthful "high jinks" or "kicks!" Frequently, however, these deviant patterns are regarded more seriously by parents and by school and legal authorities. Included here are being suspended or expelled from school and deliberately damaging school property,[21] the driving of an automobile without a permit, and taking part in a gang fight. Patterns of response for the four subgroups are reported in table 6:29.

Only four respondents reported having been suspended from school in

Table 6:29. Subjective Definitions by Patterns of Delinquent Behavior.

Item	Subjective Definition				Sample Totals
	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	
	n=27	n=12	n=22	n=19	n=80
	%	%	%	%	%
"Been suspended or expelled from school."[a]					
Never:	93	100	91	100	95
Ever:	7	---	9	---	5
	100	100	100	100	100
"Damaged school property on purpose."[b]					
Never:	67	75	73	68	70
Ever:	33	25	27	32	30
	100	100	100	100	100
"Driven a car without a driver's licence or permit."[c]					
Never:	37	67	55	68	54
Rarely:	33	8	18	16	21
Occasionally/frequently:	30	25	27	16	25
	100	100	100	100	100
"Taken part in a fight where a bunch of your friends are against another bunch."[d]					
Never:	59	100	82	63	73
Rarely:	41	---	18	37	28
	100	100	100	100	100

a. Cell frequencies too small to calculate X^2.

b. X^2= 0.386, df=3, p >.05

c. X^2= 6.622, df=6, p >.05

d. X^2= 8.716, df=3, p <.05

the past two years, two from each of the cultural unity and subcultural anomie subgroups, and the number is too small to warrant any conclusions.

About 30 per cent of the sample reported having damaged school property on purpose, however, there were virtually no differences between the four subgroups on this item.

The greatest frequency of respondents reporting having driven a car without a driver's license is associated with the cultural unity subgroup with two-thirds making this admission. In contrast, only one-third of the pluralistic value disagreement and full anomie subgroups reported similar behavior.

Consideration of reported frequencies of participation in gang fighting reveals that this behavior is significantly related in the sample to subjective definitions of cultural unity and full anomie with approximately 40 per cent of each subgroup indicating such activity. Comparatively little of this behavior was reported by those respondents with definitions of subcultural anomie; none was reported by the pluralistic value disagreement subgroup.

The peculiar pattern of association between reported gang fighting and subjective definitions of both cultural unity and full anomie requires some explanation. Of the various possibilities, one theoretical approach considered was the bundle of assumptions related to subculture of violence theory. By this understanding, violence is a subcultural norm most particularly shared by male lower class adolescents and young adults. Recourse to this avenue of post facto explanation was suggested by the earlier observation that these two categories of subjective definitions are related to lower parental socio-economic status in the sample. Controls were therefore introduced to the relationship as reported in table 6:30. Neither controlled relationship remained significant and more than two-thirds of the reported gang fighting was found among the lower SES subsample. While this would tend to suggest that parental SES is an intervening variable in the original observed relationship and support the post facto explanation, the data are insufficient to support conclusive interpretation. Certainly these observations merit further attention in additional research.

Table 6:30. Reported Participation in Gang Fighting by Subjective Definition and Parental Socio-Economic Status.

Reported Gang Fighting	Subjective Definition C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	Sample Totals
Higher Parental SES	n=5	n=7	n=13	n=8	n=33
	%	%	%	%	%
Never:	40	100	85	75	78
Rarely:	60	---	15	25	21
	100	100	100	100	100
$X^2 = 6.719$, $p > .05$					
Lower Parental SES	n=22	n=5	n=9	n=11	n=47
	%	%	%	%	%
Never:	64	100	89	46	68
Rarely:	36	---	11	55	32
	100	100	100	100	100
$X^2 = 6.941$, $p > .05$					

Criminal Conduct

The remaining eight items of the delinquency checklist are behaviors which are usually explicitly understood as violations of criminal law and liable to criminal sanction if apprehended. These include minor theft and shop lifting, vandalism, major theft and auto theft, arson, assault, and robbery. The reported frequencies of these activities are shown in table 6:31.

Table 6:31. Subjective Definitions by Patterns of Criminal Conduct.

Item	Subjective Definition				Sample Totals
	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	
	n=27 %	n=12 %	n=22 %	n=19 %	n=80 %
"Taken something not belong-to you worth under $50."[a]					
Never:	41	67	46	25	43
Rarely:	33	33	41	68	44
Occasionally/often:	26	--	14	5	14
	100	100	100	100	100
"Taken something from a store without paying for it."[b]					
Never:	48	92	32	58	53
Rarely:	52	8	68	42	48
	100	100	100	100	100
"Purposely damaged or destroyed public or private property that did not belong to you."[c]					
Never:	56	75	55	58	59
Rarely to often:	44	25	46	42	41
	100	100	100	100	100
"Taken something not belonging to you worth over $50."[d]					
Never:	93	92	96	100	95
Rarely to often:	7	8	5	---	5
	100	100	100	100	100

....continued.

Table 6:31. Subjective Definitions by Patterns of Criminal Conduct (continued).

	Subjective Definition				
Item	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	Sample Totals
	n=27	n=12	n=22	n=19	n=80
	%	%	%	%	%
"Taken a car that didn't belong to someone in your family without the permission of the owner."[e]					
Never:	93	100	96	100	96
Rarely/occasionally:	7	---	5	---	4
	100	100	100	100	100
"Set fire to someone else's property on purpose."[f]					
Never:	96	100	100	95	98
Rarely:	4	---	---	5	3
	100	100	100	100	100
"Hurt someone badly enough to need bandages or a doctor."[g]					
Never:	67	100	77	58	73
Rarely/occasionally:	33	---	23	42	28
	100	100	100	100	100
"Used a knife or a gun or some other thing (like a club) to get something from a person."					
Never:	100	100	100	100	100

a. $X^2 = 12.093$, df=6, $p > .05$
b. $X^2 = 11.582$, df=3, $p < .05$
c. $X^2 = 1.587$, df=3, $p > .05$
d. Cell frequencies too small to calculate X^2.
e. Cell frequencies too small to calculate X^2.
f. Cell frequencies too small to calculate X^2.
g. $X^2 = 7.297$, df=3, $p > .05$

On four of the items, major theft, auto theft, arson, and robbery, the reported frequencies are too small or nonexistent and will not support generalization other than the observation that these behaviors are negligible factors in the sample.

Over the remaining four items, the respondents' reported frequencies are consistent with expectation for the subcultural and full anomie subgroups which are associated with higher levels of self-reported delinquency, and for the pluralistic value disagreement subgroup which consistently associated with much lower frequencies. Unexpectedly, the frequencies reported by respondents in the cultural unity subgroup are comparatively high. To clarify these observations, controls for parental socio-economic status were introduced to the relationships between subjective definitions and reported frequencies for minor theft, shop lifting and assault. This is shown in table 6:32. In general this further analysis suggests that while shop lifting is equally distributed between the two subsamples, minor theft and assault are more associated with lower parental SES.

It was predicted that greater reported frequencies of delinquency would be related to subjective definitions of subcultural and full anomie while comparatively lower frequencies would be associated with definitions of cultural unity and pluralistic value disagreement. While, with the introduction of controls for parental SES, the data in table 6:32 generally confirm these expectations, this is particularly represented in the frequencies reported by the pluralistic value disagreement and full anomie subgroups.

In their reports on minor theft and shop lifting, the higher parental SES subsample supports the expectation by the greater frequencies associated with the subcultural and full anomie subgroups. For the lower parental SES subsample on the same items, virtually all observed

Table 6:32. Subjective Definitions by Selected Criminal Conduct Delinquencies and Parental Socio-Economic Status.

Item		Subjective Definition				Sample Totals
		C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	
"Have you taken something not belonging to you worth under $50?"		Higher Parental SES				
		n=5	n=7	n=13	n=8	n=33
		%	%	%	%	%
	Never:	60	57	46	38	49
	Ever:	40	43	54	63	52
		100	100	100	100	100
		$X^2 = 0.910, p > .05$				
		Lower Parental SES				
		n=22	n=5	n=9	n=11	n=47
		%	%	%	%	%
	Never:	36	80	56	9	38
	Ever:	64	20	44	91	62
		100	100	100	100	100
		$X^2 = 8.831, p < .05$				
"Have you taken something from a store without paying for it?"		Higher Parental SES				
		n=5	n=7	n=13	n=8	n=33
		%	%	%	%	%
	Never:	80	86	23	63	55
	Ever:	20	14	77	38	46
		100	100	100	100	100
		$X^2 = 9.446, p < .05$				
		Lower Parental SES				
		n=22	n=5	n=9	n=11	n=47
		%	%	%	%	%
	Never:	46	100	44	46	51
	Ever:	55	---	56	55	49
		100	100	100	100	100
		$X^2 = 5.374, p > .05$				

....continued.

Table 6:32. Subjective Definitions by Selected Criminal Conduct Delinquencies and Parental Socio-Economic Status (continued).

Item		Subjective Definition				Sample Totals
		C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	
"Have you hurt someone badly enough to need bandages or a doctor?"		Higher Parental SES				
		n=5	n=7	n=13	n=8	n=33
		%	%	%	%	%
	Never:	80	100	85	63	82
	Ever:	20	---	15	38	18
		100	100	100	100	100
		X^2= 3.642, p >.05				
		Lower Parental SES				
		n=22	n=5	n=9	n=11	n=47
		%	%	%	%	%
	Never:	64	100	78	46	66
	Ever:	36	---	22	55	34
		100	100	100	100	100
		X^2= 5.258, p >.05				

variation may be attributed to the very low frequencies reported by the pluralistic value disagreement subgroup and, with respect to the reporting of minor theft, the very high frequencies associated with subjective definitions of full anomie.

Analysis of the relative frequencies for reported assaults in both subsamples indicates that the observed variation is almost entirely explained by the fact that no assaults were reported by the pluralistic value disagreement subgroup while a comparatively large proportion are associated with the young people with definitions of full anomie.

Summary

It was hypothesized that higher rates of self-reported delinquency and deviation would be associated with subjective definitions of subcultural and full anomie. The analysis of individual items has generally supported this prediction with comparatively greater frequencies of delinquent or deviant behavior being reported by young people in these two subgroups while lower frequencies were observed to be associated with subjective definitions of pluralistic value disagreement. The unexpectedly high frequencies reported by those respondents with definitions of cultural unity are understood in part as a function of parental socio-economic status.

A similar interpretation is supported by the analysis of mean summated scores for all 21 items by category of subjective definition as shown in table 6:33. While the differences in the means for the total sample fail to be statistically significant, the analysis of paired comparisons revealed that the difference between subgroup means for pluralistic value disagreement and full anomie is significant at the 5 per cent level (F=4.17).

With controls introduced for parental SES, the pluralistic value disagreement subgroup mean remains consistently low while high scores are associated with full anomie in the higher parental SES subsample and subcultural anomie in the lower parental SES subsample.

The general lack of statistical significance in the observed relationships between subjective definitions of socio-cultural conditions and measures of self-reported delinquency requires that the hypothesis be rejected. Nevertheless, some patterns of association have been observed in the predicted direction. The young people constituting the subcultural and full anomie subgroups do report somewhat greater participation in delinquent behavior. However, the unexpected frequencies associated with the cultural unity subgroup remain a confounding observation that is only partly explained by the intervening variable of parental SES.

The clear association that was expected between the apprehension of social and cultural anomie and higher rates of self-reported delinquency has not been realized. Yet the literature reviewed in chapter II strongly suggests that such a relationship should obtain. It can only be concluded that, at least for this sample, the relationship between delinquency and anomic conditions is more complex than previously was understood.

Table 6:33. Subjective Definitions by Mean Scores for Self-Reported Delinquency (Total Sample and by Parental Socio-Economic Status).

	Category of Subjective Definition				
	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	Totals
Total Sample					
	$\bar{X}$=16.44 s=2.75 n=27	$\bar{X}$=14.75 s=2.97 n=12	$\bar{X}$=16.45 s=3.38 n=22	$\bar{X}$=17.11 s=3.51 n=19	$\bar{X}$=16.35 s=3.08 n=80
		F= 1.43, p >.05			
Higher Parental SES					
	$\bar{X}$=16.20 s=1.92 n=5	$\bar{X}$=14.29 s=2.69 n=7	$\bar{X}$=16.00 s=3.24 n=13	$\bar{X}$=18.03 s=2.90 n=8	$\bar{X}$=16.16 s=2.88 n=33
		F= 2.22, p >.05			
Lower Parental SES					
	$\bar{X}$=16.49 s=2.98 n=22	$\bar{X}$=15.40 s=3.51 n=5	$\bar{X}$=17.10 s=3.84 n=9	$\bar{X}$=16.44 s=3.28 n=11	$\bar{X}$=16.48 s=3.29 n=47
		F= 0.80, p >.05			

SUBJECTIVE MEANINGFULNESS

Introduction

The weakened plausibility structures which define anomic disruption of the socially constructed nomos portend not only a loss of coherence and predictability within objectivated reality, but a more directly personal threat to the individual himself. To the extent that the nomic structures of external reality are appropriated, by internalization, for the internal structuring of consciousness, anomie threatens subjective meaningfulness.

His subjective appropriation of the nomos provides meaning and order for the individual's biographical consciousness and allows him to project an ordered and meaningful future. At the same time, his experience of the reality-confirming externalizations of others supports and strengthens his commitment to behaviors congruent with nomic expectations. By internalization of the nomos, the individual acquires subjective meaningfulness as hope and discipline. The personal threat of anomie is the spectre of meaninglessness.

The sanity of the individual and his continued social participation therefore necessarily depend on the appropriation to consciousness of nomic meaning sufficient to restrain this experience which, in Berger's words, would constitute "the nightmare par excellence."[23]

Behavioral adjustments to anomie are thus to be understood explicitly as the re-establishment of a plausible nomos, and implicitly as the maintenance of subjective meaningfulness.

To this point, the analysis has considered the ways in which social and cultural conditions are apprehended and subjectively defined, and some characteristic behavioral adjustments associated with these definitions. Two questions remain to be examined in this section: (1) in what ways is subjective meaningfulness related to respondents' definitions of socio-cultural conditions; and (2) how are the variables of meaningfulness related to the behaviors under consideration?

Subjective meaningfulness has been defined by the analytical categories of hope and discipline. Hope is interpreted as the realistic feeling that what is wanted will happen, and discipline is understood as the commitment to behavior consistent with nomic expectations.[24] These variables are indicated by two Likert-type scales developed for this study.[25]

Subjective Definitions and Meaningfulness

Subjective meaningfulness is a variable. The criterion of sufficiency is that the spectre of meaninglessness is neutralized by the acquisition of hope and discipline through the internalization of nomic structures appropriate to this purpose. Nomic qualities apprehended as cultural unity or pluralistic value disagreement are directly suited to this process. However, where anomie is apprehended, subjective meaningfulness becomes more problematic.

By this logic, it was generally hypothesized that relatively lower scores on the measures of hope and discipline would be related to subjective definitions of subcultural and full anomie.

As indicated by the mean scores for hope, shown in table 6:34, this expectation was only partially substantiated in the sample. The lowest mean score is associated with the definition of subcultural anomie, however, a similarly low mean score characterized the young people with subjective definitions of cultural unity. Conversely, comparatively high levels of hope were reported by respondents with definitions of full anomie. However, none of the observed differences were found to be statistically significant and the hypothesis was rejected.

Table 6:34. Subjective Definitions by Mean Scores for Hope.

Category of Subjective Definition				
C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	Total Sample
$\bar{X}$=14.04 s=2.61 n=27	$\bar{X}$=14.58 s=2.57 n=12	$\bar{X}$=13.95 s=2.19 n=22	$\bar{X}$=15.11 s=2.16 n=19	$\bar{X}$=14.35 s=2.39 n=80

F=1.02,p >.05

Responses to the five individual items which comprise this scale are reported in table 6:35 for each of the four categories of subjective definitions. The slight differences which were observed in the mean scores indicated in table 6:34 may be almost entirely attributed to the response patterns on the first two items.

In an unexpected, and near statistically significant relationship, respondents with subjective definitions of cultural unity and pluralistic value disagreement were more likely to report disagreement with the statement: "I'm reasonably certain where I'll be and what I'll be doing ten years from now." Conversely, two-thirds of the respondents who apprehend anomic conditions reported confidence in the future by agreeing with the same statement. In an apparent contradiciton, the respondents with subjective definitions of subcultural anomie also indicated substantial agreement with the second statement: "Sometimes I just don't know what's going to happen to me." This latter difference was statistically significant.

Consideration of the relationships between the measure of subjective

Table 6:35. Subjective Definitions by Hope Scale Items.

Item	Subjective Definition				Sample Totals
	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	
	n=27	n=12	n=22	n=19	n=80
	%	%	%	%	%
"I'm reasonably certain where I'll be and what I'll be doing ten years from now."[a]					
Disagree:	63	58	36	26	46
Agree:	37	42	64	74	54
	100	100	100	100	100
"Sometimes I just don't know what's going to happen to me."[b]					
Agree:	44	25	68	32	45
Disagree:	56	75	32	68	55
	100	100	100	100	100
"Being confident in knowing what comes next for me isn't very important."[c]					
Agree:	33	25	27	21	28
Disagree:	67	75	73	79	73
	100	100	100	100	100
"Generally speaking, I know where I'm going and what I want."[d]					
Disagree:	26	17	27	5	20
Mostly agree:	52	42	41	68	51
Strongly agree:	22	42	32	27	29
	100	100	100	100	100
"I know what my goals are and I'm working towards them."[e]					
Disagree to mostly agree:	63	67	64	53	61
Strongly agree:	37	33	36	47	39
	100	100	100	100	100

a. $X^2 = 7.641$, df=3, $p > .05$
b. $X^2 = 8.102$, df=3, $p < .05$
c. $X^2 = 0.895$, df=3, $p > .05$
d. $X^2 = 6.163$, df=6, $p > .05$
e. $X^2 = 0.892$, df=3, $p > .05$

hope and aspects of reported behavior, found later in this chapter, provides some insight into these anomalous observations in that hope was determined to be substantially a function of behavior. For the present, it is concluded that there is no relationship between hope and subjective definitions of socio-cultural conditions.

The mean scores for discipline as shown in table 6:36 were found to conform to the hypothesis with higher scores being associated with subjective definitions of cultural unity and pluralistic value disagreement while comparatively lower mean scores characterized the subcultural and full anomie subgroups.

The lack of statistical significance which characterizes the comparison of the four means is attributed to the similarities in the means for cultural unity and pluralistic value disagreement and for subcultural and full anomie. This is indicated by the data in table 6:37 which show the mean score for discipline associated with subjective definitions of anomic conditions to be lower as predicted.

No significant differences were observed in the relative response patterns to the discipline scale items shown in table 6:38. In general, though, both subcultural and full anomic subgroups report a lesser likelihood of considering it important to live up to friends expectations and less agreement with the notion that one should plan and work in order to get things. Young people with definitions of full anomie are slightly more likely to report feeling unable to determine the course of their life while the subcultural anomie subgroup is comparatively more likely to agree with the statement that: "I live for today because it's the only real world there is."

Before the hypothesis could be accepted, however, it was necessary

Table 6:36. Subjective Definitions by Mean Scores for Discipline.

Category of Subjective Definition				
C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	Total Sample
$\bar{X}$=15.37 s=1.90 n=27	$\bar{X}$=15.58 s=1.44 n=12	$\bar{X}$=14.50 s=1.60 n=22	$\bar{X}$=14.53 s=1.93 n=19	$\bar{X}$=14.96 s=1.80 n=80

F= 1.86, p >.05

Table 6:37. Subjective Definitions (Collapsed Categories) by Mean Scores for Discipline.

Category of Subjective Definition		
C.U./P.V.D.	S.A./F.A.	Total Sample
$\bar{X}$=15.44 s=1.77 n=39	$\bar{X}$=14.51 s=1.76 n=41	$\bar{X}$=14.96 s=1.80 n=80

F= 5.59, p <.05

to test the relationship between subjective definitions and discipline with controls for parental SES. This is shown in table 6:39. While self-ratings for subjective discipline are generally lower for young people with backgrounds of lower parental SES, the original pattern is maintained, and, for respondents with higher parental SES, intensified. It is therefore concluded that the respondents' ratings of subjective discipline are related to definitions of socio-cultural conditions in the predicted direction. Subcultural and full anomie subgroups report lower subjective discipline.

In general, there are no differences between the four subgroups on the meaningfulness dimension of hope, however, statistically significant

Table 6:38. Subjective Definitions by Discipline Scale Items.

Item	Subjective Definition				Sample Totals
	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	
	n=27 %	n=12 %	n=22 %	n=19 %	n=80 %
"If you value friendship, it is important to live up to your friends' expectations."[a]					
Disagree:	26	33	41	47	36
Agree:	74	67	59	53	64
	100	100	100	100	100
"Usually I feel that if you have to work too hard for something, it really isn't worth it."[b]					
Agree to mostly disagree:	44	50	73	53	55
Strongly disagree:	56	50	27	47	45
	100	100	100	100	100
"You've got to plan and work in order to get things."[c]					
Disagree to mostly agree:	48	50	64	58	55
Strongly agree:	52	50	36	42	45
	100	100	100	100	100
"I feel that I am able to determine the course of my life."[d]					
Disagree:	19	8	14	26	18
Mostly agree:	63	83	73	68	70
Strongly agree:	19	8	14	5	13
	100	100	100	100	100
"In general I live for today since it's the only real world there is."[e]					
Agree:	37	17	55	37	39
Disagree:	63	83	46	63	61
	100	100	100	100	100

a. $X^2 = 2.513$, df=3, $p > .05$

b. $X^2 = 4.173$, df=3, $p > .05$

c. $X^2 = 1.361$, df=3, $p > .05$

d. $X^2 = 3.917$, df=6, $p > .05$

e. $X^2 = 4.841$, df=3, $p > .05$

Table 6:39. Subjective Definitions by Mean Scores for Discipline with Controls for Parental SES.

Category of Subjective Definition				Total Sample
C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	
Higher Parental SES				
$\bar{X}$=16.20 s=1.92 n=5	$\bar{X}$=16.29 s=0.95 n=7	$\bar{X}$=14.54 s=1.56 n=13	$\bar{X}$=14.00 s=1.85 n=8	$\bar{X}$=15.03 s=1.79 n=33
F= 3.88, $p <.05$				
Lower Parental SES				
$\bar{X}$=15.90 s=1.93 n=21	$\bar{X}$=14.60 s=1.93 n=5	$\bar{X}$=14.33 s=1.66 n=9	$\bar{X}$=14.92 s=1.98 n=11	$\bar{X}$=14.91 s=1.81 n=47
F= 1.51, $p >.05$				

differences were observed for the meaningfulness dimension of discipline. As expected, respondents who define social and cultural conditions as subcultural or full anomie rate their commitment to self-controlled, nomically consistent behavior lower than do respondents who do not indicate experience of anomie. In sum, for the variable of subjective meaningfulness, the principal differences across the four subgroups are the characteristic patterns of self-rated discipline.

Subjective Definitions and Happiness

From the theory it may be determined that no necessary relationship exists between subjective meaningfulness and happiness. The concept of meaningfulness denotes the extent to which the individual is able to make sense out of his biography and orient himself to the nomic realities of his experience. This may or may not incorporate pleasure, satisfaction and happiness.

Nevertheless, as the study proceeded, questions were raised about the extent to which greater subjective meaningfulness, as indicated by the measures of hope and discipline, might also be associated with greater subjective happiness. For this reason, an item was added to the interview which permitted the respondent to rate how he felt generally at the present time using statements ranging from very happy to very unhappy.

On the whole, the young people in the sample would regard themselves as either "quite" or "very" happy with 70 per cent responding in this way. As indicated by the data in table 6:40, analysis of these ratings by subjective definitions revealed that reports of greater happiness were associated with the definitions of cultural unity and full anomie. However, it was also found that greater reports of happiness were also related to the measure of composite family relations.[26] The introduction of controls for family relations thus provided the following observations. First, reports of greater happiness are related to higher scores for family relations, and second, young people with subjective definitions of subcultural anomie indicated lower ratings for general happiness.

Subjective Meaningfulness and Behavior

From the theory it is understood that while characteristic patterns of subjective meaningfulness are expected to be associated with different definitions of socio-cultural conditions, hope and discipline are functions of behavior and qualities of participation in the collective nomos.[27]

A complete analysis of the relationships between behaviors and

Table 6:40. Subjective Definitions by General Happiness (Total sample and with controls for Composite Measure of Family Relations).

	Subjective Definition				
Rating of Happiness	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	Sample Totals
	n=27 %	n=12 %	n=22 %	n=19 %	n=80 %
Total Sample					
Quite or very happy:	82	67	50	84	71
Less happy:	19	33	50	16	29
	100	100	100	100	100
$X^2 = 7.911$, $p < .05$					
Higher Family Relations Scores*	n=18 %	n=6 %	n=6 %	n=11 %	n=41 %
Quite or very happy:	89	100	83	91	90
Less happy:	11	---	17	9	10
	100	100	100	100	100
Low cell frequencies, X^2 not computed					
Lower Family Relations Scores*	n=9 %	n=6 %	n=16 %	n=8 %	n=39 %
Quite or very happy:	67	67	38	75	51
Less happy:	33	33	63	25	49
	100	100	100	100	100
$X^2 = 4.644$, $p < .05$					

* Categories created by stratification about sample mean.

meaningfulness is beyond the stated scope of this study and, furthermore, could not be supported by the present small sample which does not allow for sufficient partialing. Notwithstanding, what follows is a brief consideration of the direct relationship between the measures of hope and discipline and salient aspects of the reported behaviors that have been considered.

Specifically, this section will look at the following measures of behavior and social participation: composite family relations; educational experience as indicated by academic standing and measures of study habits, motivation for grades, educational values and observance of school conduct norms; career plans; peer independence; and self-reported delinquency.

Family Relations: The association between the measures of hope and discipline and the composite measure of family relations is shown in table 6:41. In this table, as in all of the remaining tables in this chapter, the analysis has been facilitated by dichotomizing the variables hope and discipline about the respective sample means.

Table 6:41. Subjective Meaningfulness by Mean Scores for Composite Measure of Family Relations.

	Elements of Subjective Meaningfulness				
	HOPE		DISCIPLINE		
	Higher	Lower	Higher	Lower	Total Sample
Family Relations:					
	$\bar{X}$=39.54 s=3.87 n=39	$\bar{X}$=36.78 s=4.53 n=41	$\bar{X}$=38.56 s=4.45 n=54	$\bar{X}$=37.23 s=4.31 n=26	$\bar{X}$=38.13 s=4.40 n=80
	F= 8.50, p <.05		F= 1.58, p >.05		

Greater personal meaningfulness was expected to be associated with supportive interpersonal relationships and it was therefore hypothesized that higher scores for hope and discipline would be related to more positive family relations. As the data indicates, both the observed relationships are in the direction expected. However, the observed patterns are only statistically significant in the association of family relations and hope. The hypothesis is thus only tentatively accepted.

Educational Experience: Explicitly and implicitly, the educational institutions of this country reward behavior consistent with conventional expectations for student conduct. Thus it was expected that indicators of greater subjective meaningfulness would be associated with more successful student participation. Specifically, it was hypothesized that higher scores on the measures of hope and discipline would be related to higher academic standing, more typical study habits, greater motivation for grades, more positive educational values, and greater conformity to school conduct norms.

The analysis of subjective meaningfulness by academic standing is shown in table 6:42. For the most part the observed relationships are in the direction predicted although neither is statistically significant. The exception to the expected pattern is the comparatively greater proportion of respondents who scored below the sample mean on the measure of discipline who also report averages of 70 per cent or better.

The hypothesis is rejected.

Each of the relationships shown in table 6:43 was observed to be in the predicted direction and with the exception of the association between scores for discipline and motivation for grades, all were found to be statistically significant. It is therefore accepted that an apparent

Table 6:42. Subjective Meaningfulness by Academic Standing.

Academic Standing	Subjective Meaningfulness: Hope — Higher	Hope — Lower	Discipline — Higher	Discipline — Lower	Sample Totals
	n=39	n=41	n=54	n=26	n=80
	%	%	%	%	%
50-59 per cent:	10	27	15	27	19
60-69 per cent:	62	49	67	42	59
70 per cent or better:	21	24	19	31	23
	100	100	100	100	100
	$X^2 = 4.840$, $p > .05$		$X^2 = 4.315$, $p > .05$		

relationship exists in the sample between greater subjective meaningfulness and more typical study habits, more positive educational values and less deviation from conduct norms. The hypothesis predicting a relationship between indicators of subjective meaningfulness and greater motivation for grades is tentatively accepted.

Career Plans: The concreteness and specificity of a respondent's occupational or career plans were inferred to be an indicator of the success which the young person either is experiencing or anticipates as well as an indicator of his orientation to the future. Therefore it was hypothesized that higher scores on the dimensions of subjective meaningfulness would be related to more definite career plans. As shown in table 6:44, the predicted relationship was observed between the measure of hope and the nature of career plans at the required level of statistical significance. However, while the observed relationship between discipline and career plans is in the direction expected, it fails to be significant.

Table 6:43. Subjective Meaningfulness by Selected Aspects of Educational Experience.

	Elements of Subjective Meaningfulness				
	HOPE		DISCIPLINE		
	Higher	Lower	Higher	Lower	Total Sample
Study Habits:					
	$\bar{X}=11.54$ s=2.39 n=39	$\bar{X}=10.00$ s=2.02 n=41	$\bar{X}=11.30$ s=2.30 n=54	$\bar{X}=9.62$ s=2.00 n=26	$\bar{X}=10.75$ s=2.33 n=80
	F= 9.67, $p <.05$		F=10.19, $p <.05$		
Motivation for Grades:					
	$\bar{X}=12.69$ s=2.83 n=39	$\bar{X}=11.29$ s=2.32 n=41	$\bar{X}=12.26$ s=2.70 n=54	$\bar{X}=11.38$ s=2.52 n=26	$\bar{X}=11.98$ s=2.66 n=80
	F= 5.89, $p <.05$		F= 1.92, $p >.05$		
Educational Values:					
	$\bar{X}=30.49$ s=4.60 n=39	$\bar{X}=27.72$ s=4.93 n=41	$\bar{X}=29.83$ s=5.05 n=54	$\bar{X}=27.46$ s=4.37 n=26	$\bar{X}=29.06$ s=4.94 n=80
	F= 6.79, $p <.05$		F= 4.21, $p <.05$		
Deviation from School Conduct Norms:					
	$\bar{X}=18.77$ s=3.48 n=39	$\bar{X}=22.49$ s=4.46 n=41	$\bar{X}=19.67$ s=3.65 n=54	$\bar{X}=22.77$ s=5.68 n=26	$\bar{X}=20.54$ s=5.02 n=80
	F=15.32, $p <.05$		F= 8.70, $p <.05$		

The hypothesis is thus only tentatively accepted.

Table 6:44. Subjective Meaningfulness by Career Plans.

	Subjective Meaningfulness				
	Hope		Discipline		
Career Plans	Higher	Lower	Higher	Lower	Sample Totals
	n=38*	n=41	n=54	n=25*	n=79*
	%	%	%	%	%
Definite plans:	50	24	43	24	37
General plans:	34	32	34	32	33
Vague plans/none:	16	44	24	44	30
	100	100	100	100	100
	$X^2 = 8.692$, $p < .05$		$X^2 = 3.852$, $p > .05$		

Peer Independence: A further indicator of the extent to which the young person in the study was understood to possess a strong self-concept and qualities of inner-directedness is in general the degree to which the individual will define his autonomy relative to his peer group. Thus it was hypothesized that greater subjective meaningfulness as indicated by higher scores for hope and discipline would be related to greater reported peer independence. As shown in table 6:45, the observed relationships again were found to be in the predicted direction but neither was found to be statistically significant.

The hypothesis was therefore rejected.

Self-Reported Delinquency: The final specification of the hypothesis linking more successful social participation and supportive interpersonal relationships with greater subjective meaningfulness predicted that higher scores for hope and discipline would be related to lower levels of self-reported delinquency and deviation. The testing of this hypothesis is indicated in table 6:46

Table 6:45. Subjective Meaningfulness by Mean Scores for Peer Independence

	Elements of Subjective Meaningfulness				
	HOPE		DISCIPLINE		
	Higher	Lower	Higher	Lower	Total Sample
Peer Independence:					
	$\bar{X}$=17.72 s=2.67 n=39	$\bar{X}$=16.83 s=2.27 n=41	$\bar{X}$=17.33 s=2.55 n=54	$\bar{X}$=17.12 s=2.44 n=26	$\bar{X}$=17.26 s=2.50 n=80
	F= 2.58, p >.05		F= 0.13, p >.05		

Table 6:46. Subjective Meaningfulness by Mean Scores for Delinquency.

	Elements of Subjective Meaningfulness				
	HOPE		DISCIPLINE		
	Higher	Lower	Higher	Lower	Total Sample
Self-Reported Delinquency:					
	$\bar{X}$=15.23 s=2.83 n=39	$\bar{X}$=17.41 s=3.11 n=41	$\bar{X}$=16.43 s=2.67 n=54	$\bar{X}$=16.19 s=3.79 n=26	$\bar{X}$=16.35 s=3.08 n=80
	F=10.76, p <.05		F= 0.10, p >.05		

A statistically significant relationship was observed between the indicator of hope and lower delinquency scores. This inverse relationship is consistent with much of the literature on anomia which link delinquent behavior to despair. Unexpectedly, there was no real difference in delinquency scores for the two subsamples by discipline. The concept of discipline as proposed is inconsistent with this finding raising a question which requires further research and consideration.

Nevertheless, the statistically significant inverse relationship between the indicator of subjective hope and mean scores for self-reported delinquency permit the partial acceptance of the hypothesis.

Summary

This section began with the posing of two questions for the analysis. It concludes now with a summary of the observations.

The first question concerned the relationship between the indicators of subjective meaningfulness and definitions of social and cultural conditions. It was hypothesized that definitions of subcultural and full anomie would be related to comparatively lower scores for hope and discipline.

The anlaysis of the relationship between the measure of subjective discipline and subjective definitions of socio-cultural conditions supported the hypothesis with the additional understanding that parental SES operated as a suppressor variable. Lower self-ratings for subjective discipline are associated with definitions of subcultural and full anomie.

No relationship was found between the measure of subjective hope and the four categories of definitions of socio-cultural conditions. The only exception to this observation was the report of somewhat greater despair indicated by those respondents with subjective definitions of subcultural anomie by their statistically significant agreement with the item: "Sometimes I just don't know what's going to happen to me."

Another variable considered in this context was the reported extent of general happiness at the present time. On the whole it was determined that the members of the sample consider themselves much more happy than not. The reports of happiness were also determined to be related to more positive family relations. After the introduction of appropriate controls, it was observed that the respondents with definitions of subcultural anomie rated themselves as less happy than the members of the other three subgroups. Unexpectedly, the self-ratings of happiness which characterize the full anomie subgroup are essentially similar to those for both cultural unity and pluralistic value disagreement.

One potential explanation for this observation is suggested by the data in table 6:47 wherein it is apparent that ratings of general happiness are related to subjective elements of hope but not discipline. While definitions of subcultural and full anomie were together found to be characterized by lesser discipline, the only observed difference on the dimension of hope was the previously mentioned tendency for respondents in the subcultural anomie subgroup to report greater despair. Thus, it might be interpreted that the lower self-ratings for happiness which characterize respondents with definitions of subcultural anomie are, in part at least, a function of that despair.

The second question focused attention of the relationships which exist between reported behavioral adjustments and subjective meaningfulness. On the basis of these analyses, the following hypotheses have been accepted.

1. There is a relationship between subjective hope and more positive

family relations. The relationship between discipline scores and family relations is not conclusive but a pattern of direct association is indicated.

Table 6:47. Subjective Meaningfulness by Happiness

	Subjective Meaningfulness				
	Hope		Discipline		Sample Totals
Rating of Happiness	Higher	Lower	Higher	Lower	
	n=39	n=41	n=54	n=26	n=80
	%	%	%	%	%
Quite or very happy:	85	59	76	62	71
Less happy:	15	42	24	39	29
	100	100	100	100	100
	X^2= 5.424, $p < .05$		X^2= 1.141, $p > .05$		

2. A direct relationship exists between subjective meaningfulness and more typical study habits, more positive educational values and lower reported rates of deviation from school conduct norms. A relationship was confirmed to exist as well between subjective hope and greater motivation for grades while a tentative however similar observation describes the relationship between motivation for grades and discipline.

3. More definite career plans are related to higher scores for hope. A similar but statistically nonsignificant relationship exists between career plans and the measure of discipline.

4. Greater self-reported delinquency is related to comparatively low scores for hope. There is no relationship between delinquency and discipline.

In general, *the subjective meaningfulness dimension of hope is more linked to measures of reported behavioral adjustment*. Conversely, *the measure of discipline is more associated with subjective definitions of social and cultural conditions*.

FOOTNOTES

1. *Cf*. chapter II.
2. See Appendix D, table A:19.
3. See Appendix D, table A:20.
4. See Appendix D, table A:21.
5. The response categories which are reported have been collapsed from the original data to facilitate analysis. The procedure followed was to eliminate categories with ten or fewer selections across the total sample. Combining was done in the direction of central tendency. Where categories are omitted, no responses were elicited.
6. *Cf*. chapter V and Appendix D, tables A:6 and A:7.
7. See Appendix D, tables A:22 and A:23.
8. See Appendix D, table A:24.
9. This observation remained after controls for Parental SES were introduced. See Appendix D, table A:25.
10. Richard E. Peterson, *College Student Questionnaire: A Technical Manual*, *op*. *cit*., p.19.
11. See Appendix D, table A:26.
12. *Cf*. chapter V and Appendix D, table A:18.
13. Item analysis for the Extracurricular Involvement scale is contained in Appendix D, table A:27.
14. The range for this scale was between 4 and 16.
15. See Appendix D, table A:28.
16. Figure 6:2 is based on subgroup means which are shown in Appendix D, table A:29.
17. The sample norms for the latter three activities are comparatively low. See Appendix D, table A:29.

18. *Cf*. chapter II.

19. *Cf*. chapter VI and Jerald Bachman, *et al*., *Youth in Transition*, *vol. I*, *op. cit.*; F. Ivan Nye & James F. Short, Jr., "Scaling Delinquent Behavior," *op. cit.*; John P. Clark & Eugene P. Wenninger, "Social Class and Area as Correlates of Illegal Behavior Among Juveniles," *op. cit*.

20. While these data might possibly be regarded as slightly titillating, they are certainly not startling nor unpredictable in the sample totals. It is thus interesting to note that it was precisely these five questions which provoked such a negative reaction from the school boards earlier in the study.

21. The extent to which this item is differently regarded was made plain by one respondent's inquiry about whether carving one's initials in a desk would be regarded as damaging school property.

22. *Cf*. Walter B. Miller, "Lower Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency," *Journal of Social Issues*, vol. 14, September 1958. pp.8-13; David M. Downes, *The Delinquent Solution*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1966. p.69; Marvin E. Wolfgang & Franco Ferracuti, *The Subculture of Violence*, New York: Travistock Publications, 1967.

23. Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy*, *op. cit*., p.22. A more complete discussion of this understanding is to be found in chapter III.

24. *Cf*. Chapter III.

25. This is discussed in chapter IV.

26. $X^2=14.818$, df=1, $p < .05$.

27. *Cf*. chapter III, especially figure 3:1.

Chapter VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study was conceived with two purposes in mind. First, it was intended as a preliminary assessment of the feasibility of a particular reformulation of anomie theory. The theory of anomie, as elaborated, is essentially a synthesis of Peter L. Berger's understanding of the social construction of reality and observations on the nature of anomie. By its second purpose, the research was intended as a study of certain behaviors of young people. Thus the present work developed as an analysis of attitudes and behavior of male high school students in Red Deer taken as the explanandum with the reformulated theory of anomie as the explanans. The problems and prospects of this effort are the matters for consideration in this chapter.

The preceding chapters have considered the background to the study and the elaboration of the theoretical perspective, the character and treatment of the methodology, and the presentation of principal observations from the data. What remains for this final chapter is the discussion and interpretation of the findings and consideration of the implications of the results.

DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

Introduction

The interpretation of the data presented in chapters V and VI basically follows the research objectives which were enunciated earlier. The discussion will therefore consider the following topics:

1. The character and measurement of subjective definitions of socio-cultural conditions;

2. Subjective definitions and psychological concomitants;
3. Subjective definitions and indicators of individual social situations;
4. Subjective definitions of socio-cultural conditions and objective adjustment in behavior;
5. Definitions of socio-cultural conditions and indicators of meaningfulness; and
6. Objective adjustment in behavior and subjective meaningfulness.

Subjective Definitions of Socio-Cultural Conditions

How did the young people in the sample apprehend and define the qualities of social and cultural conditions? Guided by the theoretical perspective and utilizing statements developed in an earlier study of young people in Edmonton, four statements of typical subjective definitions were prepared. These were presented to the respondents with the instructions to rate each statement in terms of their own point of view. The respondents were then characterized for subsequent analysis by the selection which they reported as "closest" to their own point of view.

There was no formal hypothesis predicting the distribution of these selections. However, it had been informally expected that a greater proportion of respondents would select statements which portrayed subcultural or full anomie and that the selections would tend to favour the theoretically less extreme positions of either pluralistic value disagreement or subcultural anomie.

The observed distribution was thus somewhat unexpected. The young people in the sample accorded a comparatively large number of first choices to the statement of cultural unity, thus confounding both expectations. Because this alternative either ignores or minimizes the character of pluralism and value conflict in contemporary Canadian society and describes the process of social organization in comparatively idealistic terms, it was anticipated that it would be the least chosen alternative. However, for the sample, the statement of cultural unity was the single most popular selection. Concomitantly, the statement of pluralistic value disagreement which was presumed to be most appealing to young people with a consensual perspective of social and cultural conditions was the least selected alternative.

One insight into the character of these selections was provided by the analysis of respondents' subjective interpretations of the four statements and the explanations given to justify their selections. Each subgroup, as defined by initial selections, tended to emphasize a characteristic theme. For those young people who selected cultural unity, the relevant factors were their general confidence in the trustworthiness of others and in their ability to project nomic order into the future. It may be thus understood that this alternative has captured the optimism and idealism which several writers see as characterizing a part of the adolescent weltanschauung.[1] In part this would account for the numbers making this choice, for the theory as elaborated is a general paradigm and not an explanation of youth phenomena per se.

The consideration of substantive explanations also provides a further clue to the preponderance of cultural unity selections. In contrast particularly with the explanations offered by young people selecting the statements of subcultural or full anomie, respondents choosing cultural unity tended to limit their definitions to their realities of direct experience. Whatever the larger society may be like, and most expressed awareness of ambiguous and contradictory realities in the larger society, cultural unity and particularly the element of trust were seen as essential features of their personal worlds.

Thus the comparatively large number of choices for cultural unity is understood as a function of characteristic idealism and the more restricted frame of reference employed by the young people selecting this alternative. Nevertheless, this conclusion remains partly speculative in the absence of solid confirming evidence and is a matter for specific consideration in subsequent research.

The principal theme characterizing the selection of pluralistic value disagreement was the notion that people are free to do their own thing --within certain broad limits. This observation coupled with the low rate of selection associated with this alternative suggest that the statement was inadequately worded. The intended focus on the pluralism of Canadian society is apparently only vaguely perceived in the prepared statement with the emphasis among the respondents being given to a recognition of individual freedoms. While this latter notion is a relevant one, more careful wording of this item is subsequent research to more clearly present the idea of the ordered coexistence of inconsistent and sometimes conflicting value systems might provide a more suitable alternative for those respondents who, while selecting definitions of cultural unity, were conscious of the ambiguity of their position.

Of the two alternatives which incorporated some understanding of anomie, the statement of subcultural anomie was slightly the more popular. It was this alternative which described conditions where one could trust and depend on friends but that communication between groups was often problematic. In this regard, one of the illustrations was the sometimes difficult communication between parents and their children.

The young people who selected this statement explained their choices with general references to the set of experiences which would theoretically define the category and specific reference to the notion of generation gap. Without a doubt, this alternative was the choice for respondents with experience of intergenerational dissensus. It is for speculation and perhaps future research to estimate the extent that this understanding would be obtained with the omission of the particular illustration. It remains noteworthy that only about one-fourth of the sample indicated this as their predominant experience.

For the quarter of the sample who selected the statement of full anomie, the explanations offered were near prototypical expressions of the concept. While many found the statement to be somewhat extreme by its negativism, the general understanding was one that has been described here as collapsing plausibility structures. Thus the respondents described conditions in which normative controls were largely absent or inadequate and people seemed primarily motivated by the value of "getting ahead" in disregard for the means of accomplishment. Respondents explaining this selection unanimously exempted themselves from this critique and some acknowledged that not all people should be thus regarded. But in general, their observations would suggest a perceived need for caution in interaction with others and a pervasive sense of weakened or nearly absent plausibility for the social and cultural nomos.

Bearing in mind the limitations cited above, it was observed that the way respondents interpreted the statements was consistent with the taxonomical distinctions of the theory. The validity of the typology of subjective definitions and the measure by which the four analytical subgroups were differentiated was tested in two ways, a test of internal validity and a test of external validity.

The theory suggested that the four categories were representative of a theoretical continuum. A test of internal validity was therefore the extent to which the respondents were able, by their ranking of the alternatives, to discover the theoretical pattern which was disguised in the presentation of the statements. For the sample as a whole, the discovery of the theoretical continuum was clearly apparent as over two-thirds of the young people selected adjacent categories as the second most accurate statement and the relative extreme as the least accurate representation of their point of view.

The critical exception to this pattern characterized a majority of the cultural unity subgroup where 15 of the 27 respondents indicated one of the definitions of anomic conditions as the second most accurate statement. The explanations provided by these respondents of the emplicit ambiguity in their selections suggested, not that the underlying continuum is unrecognized, but rather their conscious awareness of conflicting definitions for the specific worlds of their direct personal experience (cultural unity) and more general social and cultural conditions (anomie). As indicated by the volunteered explanations of their choice, most of the young people in this subgroup could make their initial selection of the statement of cultural unity plausible only by a further acknowledgement that such conditions do not obtain universally. While this interpretation would support the conclusion of internal validity, nonetheless, the fact of these apparent random selections and the observations in the subsequent analysis of some anomalous and reversed patterns would raise serious questions about the theoretical categories which require answering before additional research is contemplated.

The test for the external validity of the measurement of subjective definitions and for the theoretical assumptions underlying the measures was a comparison with criterion variables. This is discussed in the following paragraphs.

Subjective Definitions and Psychological Concomitants

The review of the literature suggested a variety of measures which were understood to indicate despair and personal demoralization. External validity for the measures of subjective definitions by this study was to be tested by the extent to which the respondents' selections from the four prepared statements were associated with similarly differentiating scores on two such criterion measures. Those selected for this purpose were Srole's measure of "anomia," defined as an indicator of self-to-others distance and alienation, and Rosenberg's "misanthropy" scale, a measure of a generalized lack of faith in people.[2]

Tests of the relationships between the selection of subjective definitions and the criterion measures were, in both cases, as expected and statistically significant. Definitions of subcultural and full anomie were found to be associated with higher anomia and misanthropy scores in what were perhaps the most conclusive observations of the study. Conversely, the mean scores for young people with subjective definitions of cultural unity and pluralistic value disagreement were low, both in comparative and absolute terms.

These observations gained importance as the analysis proceeded. In the immediate context, these findings support the acceptance of external validity for the chosen measures of subjective definitions.

However, it became particularly apparent in the subsequent analysis that most substantive hypotheses could not be accepted by the criterion of statistical significance, that frequently patterns would exist as predicted but at a statistically nonsignificant level, and that on many occasions results would be observed which contradicted expectation. In this regard the observed strong relation of the measure of subjective definitions with the criterion variables in the test of validity becomes crucial to interpretation of subsequent data.

Many of the substantive hypotheses were derived from the existing literature which employed the criterion measures, particularly Srole's anomia scale. To the extent that the present measure of subjective definitions of socio-cultural conditions was strongly related to anomia, it would not be unreasonable to expect similar relationships with corresponding variables identified by the review of the literature. Where this is not observed, several possible interpretations are possible in addition to a serious questioning of the theoretical framework and its operationalization. These additional interpretations would range from a reconsideration of the existing literature to an explication of the apparent complexity in the phenomena of anomie to a possible suspicion of inadequacies in the measurement of test variables. All possibilities will be considered in the following discussions.

Definitions and Individual Social Situation

A variety of indicators were employed to define qualities of the individual social situations experienced by the young people in the sample. These included measures of standard demographic variables as well as measures of family relations, parental socio-economic status, mobility, employment and personal finances.

No association was found between the selection of subjective definition and such variables as place of birth, place and type of residence, student or employment status, religious preference, ethnicity, family size or birth order, status of natural parents, or formal group memberships. Substantively interesting, but not statistically significant, relationships were observed between definitions of social and cultural conditions and age, academic program, personal spending money and savings, and automobile ownership. For the young people in the sample, definitions of subcultural or full anomie tended to be associated with greater age and ownership of an automobile. Respondents selecting the statement of subcultural anomie tended to report less money in savings while the subjective definition of full anomie was slightly related to enrollment in the general academic program at school and more personal spending money. Conversely, a slight under representation of matriculation students was observed in the full anomie subgroup. From both the theory and the review of the literature, it was hypothesized that definitions of subcultural and full anomie would be associated with older respondents, less personal income, non-matriculation status, fewer group memberships, lack of religious preference, and residence other than with the parental family. However, while the rejection of these hypotheses tends to question the conceptualization, these variables were figured to be less salient in relation to the selection of subjective definitions than the two major indicators of individual social situation, parental socio-economic status and family solidarity.

More crucial hypotheses predicted that definitions of subcultural and full anomie would be related to lower parental socio-economic status and lesser family solidarity as indicated by measures of composite family relations and family independence. Both hypotheses were consistent with both the theory and the existing literature.

With respect to parental SES, the mean score for respondents with subjective definitions of pluralistic value disagreement was higher than for either the subcultural or full anomie subgroups. This was as expected. Unexpectedly, however, the mean score for the young people selecting definitions of cultural unity was lower than for the other three subgroups. When the scores for the two subgroups defining socio-cultural conditions in terms of anomic qualities were combined and compared with the combined scores for cultural unity and pluralistic value disagreement, any statistically significant differences disappeared and the hypothesis was rejected.

Any review of the research literature on anomie is unanimous on one observation; the experience of anomie is strongly related to lower socioeconomic status. Yet a third of the full anomie subgroup and half of the respondents with subjective definitions of subcultural anomie reported a total family income in excess of $20,000 as compared with 22 per cent of the cultural unity subgroup. Over two-thirds of young people selecting subcultural or full anomie reported father's occupation as skilled, white collar or executive while 54 per cent of the cultural unity subgroup reported unskilled, semi-skilled or service occupations. These observations were all statistically significant.

Several interpretations might be placed on this apparent contradiction of the literature. For one, the validity of the measures could be questioned. However, the indication of socio-economic status are representative of the measures used for this purpose while the measure of subjective definitions of socio-cultural conditions have been shown to be highly related to Srole's anomia scale. Alternatively, the sample which is admittedly too small to permit generalization might be questioned in terms of its representativeness in the extent to which relevant socio-economic statuses are adequately represented and the built-in bias accruing from using the high school yearbooks as population lists. Additional questions might be raised concerning the nature of the Red Deer population generally, is it too homogeneous or too prosperous to incorporate these distinctions? Finally, the various problem of non-response --potential respondents having moved away from the area, the young people who refused to be interviewed or the five respondents who failed to answer the relevant questions-- further complicates the interpretation. Certainly no challenge to the existing literature can be contemplated until subsequent research fully investigates these questions.

For the present sample it may be safely concluded that parental socio-economic status does distinguish the young people who would select subjective definitions of cultural unity from those selecting pluralistic value disagreement. Cultural unity is the choice of those respondents with lower parental SES who do not apprehend anomic conditions. However, while there is a slight association of lower SES scores with full anomie, the test variable fails to sufficiently distinguish the subcultural and full anomie subgroups.

Thus parental SES is interpreted to be an important determining variable of the individual social situations associated with the selection of cultural unity and pluralistic value disagreement. However, it is not so associated with the selection of definitions of subcultural or full anomie. Parental SES is not the key variable as predicted, however, it is important in an unexpected direction.

The observed relationships between subjective definitions and indicators of family solidarity were also not conclusive. In this instance the principal limitation was the lack of statistical significance. As indicated in chapter IV, both measures, family independence and composite family relations, are very subjective scales. There is therefore considerable room for subtle distortion and misinterpretation of the response alternatives, all of which could occur without a respondent even recognizing it. For this reason, the lack of statistical significance, while disappointing, is not fully surprising, particularly with the limited size of the present sample.

However, the data do suggest a pattern of greater family independence and less positive family relations associated with subjective definitions of subcultural anomie and pluralistic value disagreement while the cultural unity and full anomie subgroups are, in common, characterized by greater dependence on the parental family and more positive family relations. Further analysis revealed that statistically significant relationships consistent with this pattern do exist for some of the individual scale items.

While the measures of family relations are thus not directly related to the experience of conditions of anomie or no anomie, what may be tentatively observed in these data is that young people from more integrated family backgrounds and more positive family relations are more likely to select the theoretically more extreme statements of socio-cultural conditions. On the other hand, respondents lacking such supportive family backgrounds are less likely to apprehend such theoretically extreme conditions and thereby confine their understandings to the less unequivocal statements of subcultural anomie or pluralistic value disagreement.

In general the substantive relationships suggest that *neither parental SES nor family relations are variables affecting the apprehension of anomie*. However, there is some indication here that once sociocultural conditions are apprehended, whether as including or not including anomic qualities, *these variables are factors relating to how such conditions are subjectively defined*.

The relationships between subjective definitions and both parental SES and family solidarity were retested with controls for the psychological concomitants of anomia and misanthropy. In both cases, as expected, the measures of relationship were reduced but the patterns were not eliminated. By this it is interpreted that the observed substantive relationships are not spurious.

The relationship between subjective definitions and family relations was also tested with controls for parental SES. Again, as predicted, the relationships were not substantively altered. This is interpreted to indicate that the relationship is independent of the suspected intervening variable, parental SES.

An alternative interpretation of these data would focus on the realization that, by the criterion of statistical significance, none of the hypotheses could be accepted. Further, the several disconcerting similarities in the patterns characterizing the two subgroups which were assumed by the theory to be most different, cultural unity and full anomie, would be noted. Thus, the validity of the theoretical continuum and the four categories of subjective definitions would be questioned. However, the conundrum is not so quickly resolved when it is again noted that, to this point, one of the strongest relationships observed was between the four categories of subjective definitions and the criterion variables anomia and misanthropy.

At face value, these substantive findings would seriously question aspects of the theoretical framework. However, it will be recalled that the theoretical perspective, as presented, suggested a dialectic relationship between social situation, definitions of socio-cultural conditions, and behavior. The designation of variables as dependent or independent was therefore acknowledged to be an arbitrary convenience. A satisfying interpretation of the determinants of the various subjective definitions thus awaits the full analysis of all the tested variables.

To this point, however, two conclusions are warranted. First, a substantial range of predicted determining variables have been examined as possibilities. While the specific hypotheses were based on the literature, the small sample does not allow a rebuttal to the findings of other researchers but rather suggests the need for a major follow-up study with a more adequate sample.

The second conclusion is increasingly apparent and supports the reservations expressed about the existing research in chapter II. The apprehension of objective qualities of anomie in social and cultural conditions would appear to be a more complex matter than is suggested by reports in the literature based on the analysis of the psychological concomitants.

Definitions and Adjustment in Behavior

The analysis of relationships between subjective definitions and those variables regarded as behavior adjustments were for the most part technically disappointing but substantively interesting. As previously noted, observed patterns were frequently observed to follow the direction predicted by hypothesis but failed to attain statistical significance. As well, the analysis was further complicated by a number of relationships which were in apparent contradiction of the hypotheses.

The lack of statistical significance which characterized the greater proportion of the observations is perhaps the most persistent limitation of this study. This problem shall be considered more fully in a later section of this chapter along with the discussion of the implications for the theory, for future research, and for the existing literature. At this point, however, it is important to note that this limitation requires that any conclusions remain tentative and subject to subsequent investigation.

Behavioral adjustments of the young people in the sample were examined under three general headings, instrumental activity, expressive activity and self-reported delinquency. A similar order will be followed here for the discussion of interpretations and conclusions.

The principal instrumental behavior of youth is the acquiring of an education. The analysis of educational participation thus included a range of appropriate variables including measures of study habits, motivation for grades, academic achievement, conformity with school conduct norms, and acceptance of conventional educational values. In addition, respondents were given several unstructured opportunities to express their opinions in response to open-ended, subjective questions.

In general, young people in the sample who had selected subjective definitions of cultural unity and pluralistic value disagreement were associated with slightly higher academic standing and included all students who had reported skipping a grade in school. These respondents were also generally characterized by higher mean scores for typical study habits and greater motivation for grades.[3] By contrast, respondents with subjective definitions of subcultural or full anomie reported comparatively lower academic standing and included most of the reports of having failed a grade. The mean scores for study habits and motivation for grades were generally lower for these students.

The definitions of cultural unity and pluralistic value disagreement were associated with more positive attitudes towards conventional educational values. This was indicated both in the measure of acceptance of educational values and in the subjective comments of the young people which emphasized the intrinsic worth of education and the value of staying in school. The young people selecting definitions of subcultural and full anomie recorded lower mean scores for the measure of acceptance of conventional educational values and tended to rate the learning experiences outside the school, particularly job-related, more highly.

Two statistically significant differences were observed, both in responses to open-ended questions. In answer to the question, "What things do you feel that you need to do in order to do well in your classes?" the subcultural and full anomie subgroups were less likely to make reference to the importance of studying. Prior to the questionnaire on education values, the respondents were asked, "What are the things you like most about school?" Here the cultural unity and pluralistic value disagreement subgroups related many of the conventional value ideas which were later referred to by the questionnaire. In contrast, respondents with subjective definitions of subcultural or full anomie were much more likely to cite school as a good place to be with friends.

Some of the substantive patterns were contrary to expectation. The full anomie subgroup included the greatest proportion rating their courses as interesting while the cultural unity subgroup included the lowest proportion. The cultural unity subgroup also included the lowest reported frequencies of private conversations with teachers while the pluralistic value disagreement subgroup reported the greatest frequencies. The pluralistic value disagreement subgroup also rated greater proportions of their teachers as taking a personal interest in them; the remaining subgroups all reported lower proportions with the lowest proportion being associated with subjective definitions of full anomie. Unexpectedly, there were no real differences between the four subgroups on the measure of self-reported deviation from school conduct norms. Unexpectedly, the mean score for the full anomie subgroup was slightly higher than the remaining categories.

The general lack of statistical significance associated with most of the observations relative to educational experience does remain a salient limitation. In part this might be attributed to the subjective character of many of the measures and again, the small sample which has been employed for the purposes of this preliminary study. Nevertheless, the accumulation of the separate patterns does suggest the following very tentative conclusion. With some noted reservations, subjective definitions of cultural unity and pluralistic value disagreement generally tend to be associated with slightly more successful and conventional participation in the primary instrumental activity of young people, the getting of an education. What is not clear either in light of the dialectic character of the theory or the preceding consideration of indicators of social situation is whether these differences are to be interpreted as a cause or an effect of the several subjective definitions. From the theory it would be equally plausible to regard these characteristics as both. The slice-in-time approach of this research cannot provide an empirical answer.

Analysis of another instrumental activity, reported employment experience, indicated that no significant differences existed between the four subgroups. A slight tendency was observed, however, for respondents with definitions of subcultural and full anomie to report having been employed for a longer period of time and a greater proportion of unskilled jobs. However, these observations were insufficient to contribute to the explanation of the relation between subjective definitions and behavior.

Expressive behavior of the young people in the sample was considered in terms of peer relations and leisure time activities. To the extent that respondents who apprehend the weakened plausibility structures of anomie were understood to have a greater need for reality confirming interaction, it was hypothesized that subjective definitions of subcultural and full anomie would be associated with greater involvement in peer-related activity and greater dependence on peer relations. At the same time it was hypothesized that the experiences of uncertain plausibility structures which characterize the young people in these subgroups would be reflected in fewer close friends and patterns of leisure time use marked by diminished social participation as indicated by measures of activity within formal groups and extracurricular involvement.

The variable of peer relations was indicated by items indicating visiting behavior with friends, evening activity outside the home, the reported number of close friends, and a summated scale for peer independence. Again the hypotheses were largely not confirmed.

The patterns reported by the respondents for having friends into their homes were generally similar across the four subgroups. Some differences were observed in the reports of the frequency which the young people reported visiting in friends' homes with the greatest and the lowest frequencies both associated with the subcultural and full anomie subgroups. However, after other indicators of peer relations were considered, it became apparent that the simple interpretation was that many activities and visiting with friends are frequently located other than in the respondents' or the friends' homes.

A slight tendency for young people with definitions of subcultural or full anomie to report more evenings per week spent outside the home and to acknowledge more frequent dating behavior was observed but the patterns failed to be statistically significant. As expected, young people in the subcultural anomie subgroup did report fewer close friends but the greater number of close friends were reported by respondents in the full anomie subgroup. The hypothesis was thus rejected. The data would suggest that the greater peer involvement which tends to be associated with subjective definitions of full anomie extends to the number of friends as well.

On the measure of peer independence, it was hypothesized that lower scores (greater dependence) would be associated with definitions of subcultural and full anomie. The difference in mean scores for reported peer independence was statistically significant with most of the variation attributable to the higher scores for the pluralistic value disagreement subgroup. However, the mean scores for both cultural unity and full anomie were slightly lower than the subcultural anomie subgroup mean. In particular, the analysis of individual scale items showed that respondents with subjective definitions of cultural unity or full anomie were more likely to define themselves as "one of a group of close friends."

When these data are coupled with the finding of greater family solidarity associated with subjective definitions of cultural unity and full anomie, it becomes apparent that these subjective definitions are related not just to particular family relations but close, supportive interpersonal relationships generally.

To this point, the data describing the relationships between subjective definitions of socio-cultural conditions and indicators of individual social situation and reported behavior adjustment do not provide a clear empirical picture of which indicators are to be regarded as independent variables and which as dependent variables. However, the data thus far do suggest an interpretation which is consistent with the theory and the hypotheses as generally stated. Conversely, the substantive specifications of the hypotheses are thus found to be often seriously impaired.

In general, subjective definitions of cultural unity, a theoretically extreme position, are associated with close supportive primary relations. Similarly, the other theoretical extremity, full anomie, is also associated with such supportive relationships. The more moderate understandings which incorporate some ambiguity in the apprehension of socio-cultural conditions, pluralistic value disagreement and subcultural anomie, are associated with comparatively less positive primary relations within the family, while the pluralistic value disagreement subgroup is also significantly less dependent on peer relations. By way of generalization, it might be suggested that in the sample, young people with greater experience of supportive primary relations are more likely to extend their definition of apprehended socio-cultural conditions in more absolute, less equivocal terms.

The differentiation of subjective definitions which incorporate the notion of anomie from those which do not may be interpreted as a function of comparatively more rewarding and conventional participation in the principal instrumental activity of young people, the preparation for the assumption of adult roles through educational achievement. In short, respondents with definitions of cultural unity and pluralistic value disagreement are found to be somewhat more successful in school than are the respondents with definitions of subcultural or full anomie.

In a significant reversal of the hypothesis, parental SES is not associated with the distinction between subjective definitions which recognize anomic qualities and those which do not. However, parental SES does significantly contribute to the differentiation of the cultural unity and pluralistic value disagreement subgroups.

These understandings are summarized by figure 7:1.

The analysis of leisure time use was indicated by two measures of social participation, formal group participation and a summated scale measuring extracurricular involvement, and a checklist of representative leisure activities. The respondents' reported levels of social participation were typically low throughout the sample and an adequate testing of the hypothesis could not be performed. The limited data did, however, suggest no difference and the hypotheses were rejected. Similarly, no significant differences were observed on the reports of leisure activities. However, slight patterns were observed and are noted as a spur to subsequent study. The linking of these observations would suggest the following. The leisure time activities of respondents with subjective

Figure 7:1. Relationship Between Subjective Definitions and the Salient Variables.

Variable	Subjective Definitions C.U.	 P.V.D.	 S.A.	 F.A.
Supportive Primary Relations:				
a) Dependence on family.	(+)	(-)	(-)	(+)
b) Positive family relations.	(+)	(-)	(-)	(+)
c) Dependence on peers.	+	-	(+)	+
Rewarding and Successful Educational Experience:	+	+	-	-
Parental Socio-Economic Status:	-	+	(+)	(-)

+ Represents "greater."
- Represents "lower."
(+) Represents "slightly greater."
(-) Represents "slightly lower."

definitions of cultural unity indicate a greater preference for more solitary activities. Conversely, the pluralistic value disagreement subgroup is characterized by more active, less reflective pastimes. As plausibly befits the young people with the most explicit consciousness of intergenerational dissensus, young people with subjective definitions of subcultural anomie characteristically showed a greater rejection for activities which are centered in the home. Finally, the leisure time activities of those respondents with definitions of full anomie were unexpectedly extensive but perhaps appropriately for those young people who also reported the greatest number of close friends. More interestingly, this subgroup was disproportionately associated with atypical patterns of activity in the sample including attending cultural events, doing volunteer work and writing personal letters.

Again, while these observations were for the most part, far from being statistically significant, they bear closer examination in further research.

The final area of reported behavior adjustment to be considered was self-reported delinquency and deviation. The principal purpose in including this variable was to test the measures of subjective definitions against a range of behaviors which have been shown in the literature to be related to Srole's anomia. Greater levels of delinquency were therefore predicted to be related to subjective definitions of subcultural or full anomie.

Analysis of the mean scores for self-reported delinquency resulted in comparative ambiguous findings. As expected, the mean scores for the full anomie subgroup were higher while those of the pluralistic value disagreement subgroup were lower. However, mean scores for both the cultural unity and subcultural anomie subgroups were similar and approximately equal to the sample mean. Over all, the differences across the four subgroups were not statistically significant.

Two observations are particularly relevant here. First, the delinquency scores for the young people as a whole are generally low. With a theoretical scale range of between 10 and 50, the sample mean for summated scores is approximately 16 and the highest recorded score is 22. Undoubtedly this reflects something of the character of the Red Deer community and its integration. To what extent this would inhibit the relationship between definitions of socio-cultural conditions and self-reported delinquency is unknown. Certainly within the sample, delinquent and deviant behavior do not appear as a widely available behavioral option. The implication for subsequent research is that more heterogeneous and differentiated populations need to be considered.

A second observation concerns the relevance of parental socioeconomic status. While the relationship beteeen parental SES and mean delinquency scores is not statistically significant, the variable was introduced to the analysis as a control to contribute to the interpretation of the relatively greater participation in gang fighting reported by respondents with definitions of cultural unity. Here parental SES was found to be an intervening variable and was subsequently retained as a control in the analysis of mean scores. It was then observed that the original observed differences were intensified for young people reporting higher parental SES. Among respondents with lower parental SES scores, self-reported delinquency scores were somewhat higher for three subgroups and lower for the full anomie subgroup with no real differences between the subgroups.

Subjective definitions of anomie are thus understood to be related to comparatively greater frequencies of self-reported delinquency in the sample only in association with higher parental SES. The small subgroup numbers which result when the sample is partialed in this way preclude anything but tentative observations. However, it is relevant to note that the literature of research utilizing Srole's measure of anomia which is reviewed in chapter II would suggest something of the reverse. There, greater delinquency is associated with higher anomia scores and lower SES.

While the hypothesis predicting an association between definitions of anomie and greater delinquency has been rejected, the data raise important questions for future research. Specifically, the unexpected frequencies reported by respondents with subjective definitions of cultural unity and the effects of socio-economic status on the relationship require further study. On the basis of the present data, it seems apparent that, at least in relation to this sample, the relationship between delinquent and deviant behavior and socio-cultural conditions of anomie is not as straight forward as some of the literature would suggest.

Definitions and Subjective Meaningfulness

From the theory, it was understood that in the face of weakening plausibility structures the efforts of the young people in the sample to establish a meaningful nomos of experience through objective behavior would in turn allow its reappropriation to consciousness as subjective meaningfulness. Subjective meaningfulness was operationally defined and studied in terms of two variables, hope and discipline. It was generally hypothesized that subjective definitions of anomie would be related to lower scores on these variables.

As measured in the study, the subjective dimension of hope was understood as the realistic feeling that what is wanted will happen, desire is oriented towards definable goals and infused with expectation. Mean scores for this dimension showed little difference across the four subgroups. As unexpected as this observation was, particularly surprising were the comparatively low scores associated with the cultural unity subgroup.

In principle, subjective definitions of cultural unity suggest the apprehension of a well-ordered, integrated and plausible nomos. To the extent that this is internalized as the basis for subjective consciousness, a young person with this understanding of the nature of objective social reality would be expected to report comparatively greater confidence in projecting the nomic order into the future. In short, subjective definitions of cultural unity should be associated with significantly higher levels of subjective hope.

That this was not observed is clarified by the analysis of the individual scale items. This analysis provides both an additional insight into the nature of the cultural unity subgroup and again points to a limitation in the original measurement of subjective definitions.

Throughout the analysis of the data, one striking feature has been the response patterns of the young people in the cultural unity subgroup which have generally confounded expectations. The frequent lack of statistical significance may, in large measure, be attributed to the unexpected responses characterizing the cultural unity subgroup.

It is among the young people with primary definitions of cultural unity that the greatest violation in the pattern of selection of subjective definitions was observed. The ambiguity of their apprehension of socio-cultural conditions was highlighted by the fact that more than half of this subgroup selected definitions of subcultural or full anomie as the second most accurate description of their point of view. This ambiguity was repeatedly encountered in the analysis of the variables indicating objective behavior.

An insight into this characteristic ambiguity was gained from the examination of the respondents' subjective interpretations of the prepared statements embodying the four definitions. There it was apparent that the young people who selected the cultural unity statement were more likely to interpret it in terms of the unity of their personal experience. Thus a majority at the same time reported cognizance of anomic conditions in the larger socio-cultural reality. By contrast, respondents selecting the remaining categories for the most part made reference to the larger social context in their interpretations of all their choices. This observation was used to interpret the unexpected large number of respondents who initially selected the cultural unity statement.

The insight is further supported by the analysis of items from the scale measuring hope. The cultural unity subgroup is here found to report strong reservation about predicting their personal future with any degree of certainty.

What emerges, therefore, is a speculative understanding of the young people in this subgroup who apprehend cultural unity in their current experience but remain conscious of anomic qualities which characterize socio-cultural conditions generally. Thus while at present their experience of the adolescent reality is one of unity, the impending change of status with the assumption of adult roles raises the spectre of anomie and renders the projection of meaningfulness into the future problematic.

Should this be the case, a weakness in the measurement of subjective definitions is indicated. Before any further research may be undertaken, the statements of socio-cultural conditions will require further clarificaiton to provide for a consistent frame of reference and to limit such ambiguous selections. Alternatively, and should subsequent research continue to encounter such unexpected responses characterizing definitions of cultural unity, the theory would require extensive reconsideration and the four categories along with the underlying theoretical continuum should be abandoned despite its strong relationship to the criterion variables, anomia and misanthropy.

The second dimension of subjective meaningfulness, discipline, was understood as the commitment to self-controlled, orderly conduct consistent with nomic expectations. Here, the data supported the hypothesis that subjective definitions of subcultural and full anomie would be associated with significantly lower levels of discipline. This is interpreted as establishing the relative loss of orientation in experience and the weakened plausibility of nomic structures which confront those young people who experience social and cultural conditions of anomie. These young people are understood as characteristically feeling that they are comparatively less able to control the course of their lives. This is particularly true in the sample for respondents from higher parental SES backgrounds.

Subjective meaningfulness and happiness are understood by the theory as dimensions of consciousness which do not have necessary connection. However, an analysis of the relationship between the dimensions of subjective meaningfulness and reported levels of general happiness revealed that happiness varied directly with both dimensions. The relationship between hope and happiness was statistically significant. When controls were introduced for family relations, a major source of happiness, the main difference was discovered to be that the young people in the subcultural anomie subgroup who were characterized by the lowest levels of subjective hope and discipline also rated themselves as less happy than the respondents in the remaining subgroups.

Behavior and Subjective Meaningfulness

A full analysis of the relationship between subjective meaningfulness and the variables of objective behavior was beyond both the intention of the study and the ability of the sample to support. Nevertheless, a limited analysis was undertaken to provide a preliminary insight into the extent that the meaningfulness dimensions of hope and discipline are related to behavior variables in addition to subjective definitions of socio-cultural conditions.

As hypothesized, greater subjective hope is significantly associated with more positive family relations, more typical study habits and greater motivation for grades, more conventional educational values and less deviation from school conduct norms, more definite career plans, and lower frequencies of self-reported delinquency and deviation. Greater subjective meaningfulness was observed to be directly related with study habits, educational values, and observance of school conduct norms.

The observation of only a slight relationship between the meaningfulness dimension of hope and subjective definitions of socio-cultural conditions and the strong association between subjective hope and a range of behaviors, coupled with the observation of a strong relationship between the meaningfulness dimension of discipline and subjective definitions but not behavior, allows the interpretation that, for this sample, hope is a function of behavior while discipline is more a function of socio-cultural conditions as apprehended by the individual.

Summary

The following statements serve to briefly summarize the salient findings of this research.

1. The four theoretical dimensions of apprehended social and cultural conditions are valid and meaningfully exist in the various subjective definitions of the young people in the sample.
2. In general, three major variables are significantly associated with the different ways in which social and cultural conditions are appre-

hended.

i. Supportive Primary Relations: Young people with a comparatively greater experience of close, supportive primary relationships are more likely to apprehend socio-cultural conditions in extreme terms of either cultural unity or full anomie.

ii. Parental SES: Young people from lower parental SES backgrounds are more likely to define socio-cultural conditions in extreme terms while young people with higher parental SES backgrounds are more likely to apprehend these conditions ambiguously as either pluralistic value disagreement or subcultural anomie.

iii. Educational Experience: Young people with more positive, successful experience in this primary instrumental activity are more likely to apprehend a more plausible nomos and the comparative absence of value conflicts. Young people with less successful and rewarding educational experiences are more likely to apprehend qualities of anomie and weakened plausibility structures in social and cultural conditions.

3. The relationship between self-reported delinquency and deviation and subjective definitions of social and cultural conditions does not fit the expectations derived from the literature. Basically, no substantial relationship was observed.

4. The realization of subjective meaningfulness as hope is largely a function of individual reported behavior and positive family relations.

5. The realization of subjective meaningfulness as discipline is largely a function of subjective definitions of social and cultural conditions.

6. The general lack of statistical significance in the data and the

observation of unexpected patterns particularly with respect to the responses of the cultural unity indicate the need for a careful re-examination of the theory, the hypotheses, the sample, and the instruments used prior to further research.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS

Implications for the Theory

It has been repeatedly stated that this research was initiated not as a test of the theory but rather as a preliminary investigation of its utility, a pilot project to identify its strengths and limitations. Nevertheless, many of the methods are essentially similar to those which would be employed in a full scale test. Only general hypotheses have been derived from the theory; the substantive predictions were largely based on the literature. In addition to the speculative character of many hypotheses, the major limitation here has been the deliberately restricted sample size. Thus, while the study is not a precise test of the theory, it is an extensive preview of such a test.

Now that the dust has settled and the computer printer is at last silent, it is appropriate to attempt to answer the question of how the theory has fared in light of this study. Many of the results are disappointing, particularly the frequent lack of statistical significance and the fact that some of the observed patterns were contrary to expectation. However, the results are not unequivocal. The greater proportion of the observed relationships are substantively important with implications for the theory to the extent that they are in the direction predicted by the hypotheses.

The conceptualization of anomie as value conflict characterized by weakening or collapsing plausibility structures is supported by the inverse relationship between the apprehension of anomie and subjective discipline. On the other hand, the lack of a similar relationship with the meaningfulness dimension of hope suggests that this aspect of the conceptualization requires some reconsideration.

The typology of subjective definitions and the understanding of an underlying theoretical continuum have been shown to be valid, first by the respondents' explanations of their choices which, for the most part, parallel the theory, second, by the pattern of respondents' selections of the statements of subjective definitions which mostly discovered the disguised sequence of the continuum, and third, by the strong relationship which the selection of subjective definitions was shown to have with the criterion variables of anomia and misanthropy. Conversely, both the typology and the theoretical continuum are challenged by the ambiguity of selection which characterized a majority of the cultural unity subgroup, by the unexpected data patterns associated with subjective definitions of cultural unity, and by the frequent similarities in the responses of the presumed different categories of cultural unity and full anomie.

The apprehension of the social and cultural nomos as incorporating anomie has been shown to be variously distributed within the sample and related to both indicators of individual social situations and reported behavior adjustments. Many of the relationships were in the direction predicted from the theory. Disconcertingly, the unexpected patterns obtained were typically characteristic of the cultural unity and full anomie subgroups. In several instances, these unexpected patterns were found to be a function of an intervening variable, parental socio-economic status, however, the small sample did not permit a full analysis of the effects of this variable. Notwithstanding, the need for reconsideration of substantive aspects of the theory is indicated.

Differences in subjective meaningfulness have also been shown to be variously distributed in the sample and related, as expected, to both reported behavior adjustments and subjective definitions of social and cultural conditions. However, to the extent that the meaningfulness variables were found to be more strongly related to reported behavior than to subjective definitions indicates the need to re-examine this aspect of the theory as well as a need for a larger sample to permit a complete analysis with the appropriate controls.

The survey research methodology of this study has provided for a general overview of the utility of the theoretical perspective. And while some unexpected results have confounded the analysis, the observed substantive patterns do leave room for some cautious optimism. On balance, the results of this study encourage continued efforts with the theoretical perspective and warrant additional research. However, serious reconsideration is also indicated for aspects of the perspective, in particular, the character of the continuum and its operationalization.

The present study also highlights aspects of the theoretical framework which are not adequately considered by the survey research methodology and thus would indicate consideration for a more appropriate methodology.

First, the dialectic character of the relationship between subjective definitions of socio-cultural conditions and indicators of individual social situations and reported behavior adjustment cannot be satisfactorily described by the "slice-in-time" approach of the present research. Thus, for example, it remains uncertain as to whether certain ideas about educational participation are a determinant of particular subjective definitions or whether the reverse is a more valid statement. The need for a study design which allows for some form of longitudinal analysis is indicated.

The second implication of the theoretical framework which is not adequately examined is the collective character of behavior adjustment. An important feature of the theory is the notion that adjustments to anomie are collective adjustments undertaken in concert with others. Yet inadvertantly this research made no provision to examine this facet of the theory except by inference. Direct consideration was unavailable, for, as James S. Coleman noted in his discussion of relational analysis:

> The individual remained the unit of analysis. No matter how complex the analysis, how numerous the correlations, the studies focused on individuals as separate and independent units. The very techniques mirrored this well: Samples were random, never including (except by accident) two persons who were friends; interviews were with one individual, as an atomistic entity, and responses were coded onto separate IBM cards, one for each person. As a result, the kinds of substantive problems on which such research focused tended to be problems of "aggregate psychology," that is, within-individual problems, and never problems concerned with relations between people.[5]

The need for a study design which allows for the consideration of group as well as individual data is also indicated.

This research, and by extension the underlying theory, also raises some tentative questions with regard to the existing literature. It is apparent that these findings would indicate that social and cultural anomie and its implications for the individual are in fact a more complex condition than existing formulations suggest or previous research concludes. The present study obviously will not support a detailed critique of the literature. Yet, some questions raised by the theory have become more insistent. Particular concern is whether existing formulations of anomie theory are too limited and also whether research, especially research involving Srole's measure of anomia, is deceptively simplistic.

Again it is emphasized that the present research provides no substantial answers and no present claims are made. The theory would appear practicable but questions do remain to be answered. Nevertheless, this research would support and mandate further investigation of the insights to be gained from the theory.

Implications for the Study of Youth

The original promise which this theory and research held for the analysis of youth phenomena remains just that, a promise. While the present study generally confirms the utility of the approach, some areas for concern and reconsideration have been identified. This study does not provide the hoped-for inclusive understanding.

The existing partial explanations of youth behavior which were reviewed in chapter II including such notions as marginality, generation gap, contraculture and alienation, may, on the basis of the present data, be incorporated and accounted for within the more inclusive theory of anomie as a general explanation.

However, the substantive detail is only generally suggested by the present study and some substantive problems remain to be overcome. A more detailed explanation of youth phenomena in this mode must await further, more extensive investigation.

For the present, it is noted that anomic qualities of social and cultural conditions do impinge both directly and indirectly on young people in this sample. The former is observed in the subcultural and full anomie subgroups while the latter is apparent in the ambiguous understandings of those respondents who selected definitions of cultural unity. The apprehension of anomie is known to be related in the sample to certain variables in individual social situations, particularly parental socio-economic status and experience of close, supportive primary relations. In the same vein, the different subjective definitions have been shown to be variously associated with behavior patterns, especially educational participation, peer relations, and delinquent behavior. Finally, the levels of subjective meaningfulness reported by the young people have been determined to be related both to reported behavioral adjustments and subjective definitions of socio-cultural conditions.

However, these observations remain comparatively general in character. Further investigation is again necessary before substantive detail and precise explanation are possible. The principal implication of the present study for the sociological analysis of youth remains as originally stated: the approach holds promise.

Implications for Further Research

The present study has provided many insights for the design of subsequent investigation. To the extent that many of the limitations of the present research may be attributed to inadequacies, vagueness or other problems with the methodology and sample, this study is a rich source of direction for the revision and improvement of further research.

Specifically, these efforts have implications for the refinement of subsequent study in at least four areas.

1. The present work provides an empirical basis for the sharpening and clarification of specific substantive hypotheses. The tentative character of the substantive hypotheses in this research contributes directly to many of the limited or disappointing findings.
2. The present study identifies inadequacies in the instruments and

directs attention to the needs for their refinement. This is particularly true of the need to eliminate ambiguity in the measurement of subjective definitions and the need for greater discrimination in measures of background variables and reported behavior adjustments.

3. This research identifies areas where the methodology requires reconsideration and redesign. Of specific concern in this regard is the need to allow for longitudinal analysis of behavior as adjustment to anomie, and to provide for examination of the collective character of behavior adjustments through appropriate sampling techniques and some provision for relational analysis.

4. Finally, in subsequent research the sample should be of sufficient size to support full partialing in the analysis, to allow for the appropriate testing of the patterns of association between subjective definitions, behavior adjustment, and subjective meaningfulness, and to provide a valid basis for both the extensive explanation of youth phenomena and a credible commentary on the literature of anomie.

FOOTNOTES

1. *Cf*. chapter II.

2. Leo Srole, "Social Integration and Certain Corollaries," *op*. *cit*.; Morris Rosenberg, "Misanthropy and Political Ideology," *op*. *cit*.

3. The reported relationship between subjective definitions and motivation for grades was only observed after controls were introduced for parental SES. One anomaly did remain, however, a comparatively high mean score for respondents in the full anomie subgroup and characterized by lower parental SES.

4. No statistically significant differences were observed across the four subgroups on the measure of conformity to school conduct norms. Yet an interesting and unexplained observation does exist in that the greatest conformity is associated with young people who claim subjective definitions of full anomie.

5. James S. Coleman, "Relational Analysis: The Study of Social Organiza-

tions with Survey Methods," in George H. Lewis (ed.), *Fist-Fights in the Kitchen: Manners and Methods in Social Research*, Pacific Palisades, Calif.: Goodyear Publishing Company, 1975. p.98. Italics are in the original.

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APPENDIX A. Documents Relating to Contacts With the Public School Board

RED DEER COLLEGE
RED DEER, ALBERTA
56 AVENUE - 32 STREET
T4N 5H5
TELEPHONE 346-3376
AREA CODE 403

November 27, 1975

Mr. G. H. Dawe,
Superintendent,
Red Deer Public School Board,
4747 - 53rd Street,
Red Deer, Alberta.

Dear Mr. Dawe;

Further to our earlier conversations, I am enclosing an abstract of my research proposal for consideration by your board. The full statement is also available for your consideration, if required. The study represents the final requirement for the completion of my doctoral degree.

The study is conceived as an empirical test of certain theoretical insights developed during some of my previous research experience with the Department of National Health and Welfare. My principle interests here are twofold, first, the testing of a theory, and second, the elaboration of an alternate approach to the explanation of youth phenomena.

Notwithstanding, I feel that the substantive data would be of interest to you and your board.

To the extent that the proposed analysis will involve extensive partialing of the sample, a comparatively large sample is required. Further, the resources available for the research do not permit elaborate sampling and data collection techniques. The most efficient method is mass administration of a questionnaire to large groups of potential respondents.

For this reason, I would request that the board consider the support of this study and permit the administration of the questionnaire at the High School.

Thank you for your consideration in this matter. I shall be available at the board's convenience to further explain the proposal and to discuss the questionnaire.

Yours sincerely,

Wm. K. Stuebing,
Sociology Instructor.

:sw
encl.

RED DEER PUBLIC SCHOOL DISTRICT No. 104
Offices: 4747 - 53rd Street
Phone 347-1101
RED DEER, ALBERTA
T4N 2E6
JAMES W. MUZA
Secretary-Treasurer
G. H. DAWE
Superintendent of Schools

January 12, 1975

Mr. W. Steubing
Red Deer College
Box 5005
RED DEER, Alberta

Dear Mr. Steubing:

At the last meeting of the Red Deer Public School District, it was decided that permission would not be granted for distribution of your questionnaire to students of Lindsay Thurber Comprehensive High School. This decision was based on the controversial "deliquency index" and also on a board policy not to give out names and addresses of students.

I regret we are unable to help you and hope you may find an alternate way of obtaining data for your thesis.

Yours sincerely,

W.T. Brownlee

W.T. Brownlee
Deputy Superintendent

WTB:dlb

Editorial, Red Deer Advocate, Saturday, January 10, 1976. p.4.

Good for the public school board in vetoing still another mass questionnaire of high school students, some of the questions being described as "personal." We don't pretend to know the precise questions nor the precise reason for the survey, to be run by a sociology instructor at the college. But in principle, the number of questionnaires and extent of probing within the school system already is excessive — especially since there's skepticism about the confidentiality of the material and no known policy of its destruction after reasonable time.

We'd prefer to see the trend reversed and most certainly, trustees standing on guard against anyone outside the school system wanting to exploit the captive audience in the schools — even for the holy grail of research.

APPENDIX B. Copies of Letters Sent to Respondents and Their Parents

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
TELEPHONE (403) 432-[illegible]

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
EDMONTON, CANADA
T6G 2E1

March 21, 1976

Mr. and Mrs. John Doe, Sr.,
123 - 45 Street,
Red Deer, Alberta

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Doe,

The enclosed pamphlet describes a research project titled Youth in Society which is currently being conducted in the Red Deer area. The study is sponsored by the Department of Sociology at the University of Alberta. As the pamphlet explains, the study is concerned with how young people feel about the society in which they live, their reactions to it, and some of the things they do. The purpose of this study is to help to develop a better understanding of young people in this area and the things they enjoy as well as the problems they encounter.

For the study, a random sample of young people in Red Deer was selected and the people included in the sample are now being informed. Your son's name has been included in the sample and he will receive confirmation of this in a separate letter. Within the next few days he will be contacted by an interviewer who will request an appointment for an interview.

Because of the normal concern which parents have for their children, we have considered it important to also inform you of our request for your son's cooperation. The participation of all members of the sample is crucial to the success of the study, however, any participation should take place with the knowledge and support of the parents.

Most of the common questions concerning the study are answered in the accompanying pamphlet. As you will note, the interview will be totally confidential and participants in the study will remain anonymous. There is no other purpose to this study than the ones indicated in this letter and the pamphlet.

We trust that you will find our interests and concerns to be acceptable. However, if you require further information, there are telephone numbers that you may call listed in the pamphlet.

If possible, the interviewer would also like to ask you a few general questions relevant to the study at the time of the interview. The parents questions are a useful background for the study but not crucial if this is inconvenient.

Thank you for your consideration.

Yours sincerely,

Bill Stuebing

Wm. K. Stuebing,
Research Director,
Youth in Society Study.

WKS/sw
encl.

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
TELEPHONE (403) 432-5234

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
EDMONTON, CANADA
T6G 2E1

March 21, 1976

Mr. and Mrs. John Doe, Sr.,
123 - 45 Street,
Red Deer, Alberta.

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Doe,

The accompanying letter from Mr. Stuebing describes the Youth in Society study which is sponsored by this department. My purpose in writing this letter is to confirm that this is a valid and useful contribution to the study of society in Alberta. Your son's participation would be a unique and important contribution to the developing understanding of our society.

Mr. Stuebing's research has the support of the department of sociology and I would like to take this opportunity to endorse his assurance of the confidential nature of the interviews and the importance of the study.

I am confident that you will find your son's participation in this research to be acceptable.

Yours sincerely,

Terrence H. White,
Professor, and
Chairman of the Department.

THW/sw

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
TELEPHONE (403) 432-5234

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
EDMONTON, CANADA
T6G 2E1

March 21, 1976

Mr. John Doe, Jr.,
123 - 45 Street,
Red Deer, Alberta.

Dear John,

The enclosed pamphlet describes a research study entitled *Youth in Society* which is currently being conducted in the Red Deer Area. The study is being sponsored by the Department of Sociology at the University of Alberta. As the pamphlet explains, the study is concerned with how young people feel about the society in which they live, their reactions to it, and some of the things they do.

For the study, a random sample of young people in Red Deer was developed. The people in the sample are now being informed of the study and asked to participate.

Your name is one of those selected to be interviewed and in the next few days you will be contacted by an interviewer. The interviewer will answer any questions which you have about the study that are not covered in the pamphlet and will request your cooperation in arranging an interview.

The purpose of this study is to help to develop a better understanding of young people in this area and some of their problems. In this matter, the cooperation that you can give is very important. If the study is to be successful, finding out how you -and others like you- feel is crucial. Also, if the study is to accurately reflect the feelings and opinions of Red Deer young people, it is necessary to interview all of the people selected for the sample.

As explained in the pamphlet, the interview will be *absolutely and totally confidential*! In this way we hope that you will be willing to take part in the study.

If you want some further information before the interviewer phones, you will find some telephone numbers in the pamphlet that you can call. We want you to be personally satisfied about the study before you agree to be interviewed.

In the meantime, and until we are able to contact you, let me thank you for your consideration of our request. With your cooperation we are confident that this will be a successful and worthwhile project.

Very sincerely,

Bill Stuebing

Wm. K. Stuebing,
Research Director,
Youth in Society Study.

WKS/sw

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
TELEPHONE (403) 432-5234

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
EDMONTON, CANADA
T6G 2E1

March 21, 1976

Mr. John Doe, Jr.,
123 - 45 Street,
Red Deer, Alberta.

Dear John,

The accompanying letter from Mr. Stuebing describes the Youth in Society study sponsored by this department. My purpose in writing this letter is to support his request for your participation in the project and to confirm that this is a valid and useful contribution to the study of Alberta society.

The efforts to develop an accurate and full understanding of our society depend on the cooperation of members of the community in such studies as this. By allowing yourself to be interviewed, you can make a unique and important contribution to this goal.

I earnestly encourage you to agree to be interviewed; the assistance which you can provide could not be duplicated by someone else.

Of course, all information that you give to the study will be protected by professional concerns for confidentiality and the assurance of respect for individual privacy.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Yours sincerely,

Terrence H. White,
Professor, and
Chairman of the Department.

THW/sw

Some Questions and Answers on...

YOUTH IN SOCIETY:

Research with Young People

in Red Deer

Q: What is the study about?

A: In recent years, much has been written or said about young people in Canada -on television, in newspapers, or between friends. Frequently the concern is for things that are seen to be problems, such as drop-outs or transients, the rejection of traditional values, delinquency, or the lack of respect for social institutions. Most of the studies of young people have also focused on such problems.

Until now, few have looked beyond the visible problems and considered Canadian young people in general. Very little is known about how young people as a whole understand and participate in Canadian society.

This research is part of an attempt to find out how young people feel about the society in which they live and the ways they take part in it. We are concerned with young people generally, and with their feelings about their experiences and the future.

Q: What specifically is the study interested in?

A: The study focuses on five questions. These are as follows:

1. How do young people see Canadian society? What is it like for them and how do they feel about it?
2. What kinds of things do young people in Red Deer feel to be important in society, both now and for the future?

3. What kinds of different experiences do young people have in getting an education? How do they feel about school and their education in general?

4. In what ways do young people take part in this community? What kinds of things do they do and how do they feel about their participation?

5. What different kinds of backgrounds do young people in Red Deer have and how do these affect their experiences and feelings?

Q: Why is the study being done in Red Deer?

A: There are two reasons for this. First, Red Deer includes a good cross section of the kind of people who live in Alberta so many of the study results will relate to the province generally. Second, Red Deer is where most of the people conducting the study live and they are naturally more interested in this area than in some other community.

Q: What is the practical value of the study?

A: An important reason for the study is to find out something about a significant part of our community and in this way, add to our understanding of Red Deer. But more practically, if there is to be greater understanding of young people in Red Deer, we must consider their interests and concerns, the things they find to be good and the problems they encounter.

Q: Then the results of the study will be public?

A: Yes, definitely. The full report will be available from the different libraries in the city and discussions of the results will be held with any interested groups. Also, a special summary of the results will be sent to any participant in the study who wishes it.

Q: Will this violate the privacy of participants?

A: No! The privacy of the people who take part in the study is very important. There are several ways that their privacy is guaranteed and protected.

First, participation in the study is voluntary. Only those young people who agree to be interviewed will participate. For example, this brochure is an attempt to explain all about the study before anyone is asked to be interviewed. Also, any other questions that people might have will be answered before the interview.

Second, everything that is said in the interview will be considered as totally and absolutely confidential information. No one will ever be able to find out what any particular person said.

Third, the people who are interviewed will also be anonymous. No one will ever be told the names of the people who took part, no names will be attached to the interview reports, and no lists will be kept of those who were interviewed.

Q: How are people selected for the study?

A: A list was collected of all young people who were in grades 10 or 11 last year at Lindsay Thurber Composite High School and Camille J. Larouge Collegiate. From this list, names were selected at random for the sample. A letter and this brochure were then sent to the people selected and they will shortly be contacted by an interviewer.

Q: Where will the interviews take place?

A: We would prefer that the interview take place in the home of the person being interviewed. We think that they would be most comfortable there and we would like to talk to their parents briefly as well. However, if this is not possible, we will arrange for a place that is suitable to the person being interviewed.

Q: When would the interview take place?

A: At a time that is convenient for the person who is being interviewed.

Q: How long will it take?

A: Usually about one hour.

Q: What about other questions I might have?

A: When the interviewer phones to arrange for the interview, he will answer any additional questions you may have. Also, both before the interview starts and during it, he will ask you if you have any questions and will answer these before continuing. It is your right to know in just what it is that you are participating.

Q: Can I get any further information?

A: Yes. If there is any information which is not supplied by this brochure or by the interviewer, please feel free to call the research director, Mr. Bill Stuebing. During the day the phone number is 346-3376 (local 286) or during the evening at 347-5319.

Appendix C: Data Collection Instruments.

ITEM LOCATION KEY

Major Variable	Location
A. Individual Social Situation	
i. Age	(Int.) DI:1
ii. Place of birth	(Int.) DI:2
iii. Residence	(Int.) DI:13,14
iv. Student status	(Int.) AI:1-4,11,12
v. Employment status	(Int.) CI:11
vi. Personal finances	(Int.) CI:12
vii. Religious preference	(Int.) DI:11,12
viii. Parental S.E.S.	(Int.) DI:6-10
ix. Ethnicity	(Int.) DI:4
x. Family size/birth order	(Int.) DI:5
xi. Parents' status	(Int.) DI:3
xii. Family independence	(Ques.) C:1-5
xiii. Family relations	(Ques.) C:6-26
xiv. Use of automobile	(Int.) CI:16
B. Definitions of Socio-Cultural Conditions	(Int.) BI:1-7
C. Psychological Concomitants	
i. Anomia	(Ques.) D:11-15
ii. Misanthropy	(Ques.) D:16-20
D. Objective Adjustments in Behavior	
Educational Participation	
i. Study habits	(Ques.) A:2-4,7,8
ii. Motivation for grades	(Ques.) A:1,2,5,6,9
iii. Education values	(Ques.) A:17-28
iv. General attitudes	(Int.) AI:5-10
v. Interaction with teachers	(Ques.) A:10-12
vi. Interest	(Ques.) A:14-16
vii. Norm deviation	(Ques.) A:29-38
Social Participation	
i. Formal groups	(Int.) CI:1,2
ii. Extracurricular	(Int.) CI:3-6
iii. Peer independence	(Ques.) B:1-9
iv. Time allocation	(Int.) CI:6-10
v. Leisure activities	(Ques.) B:10-28
vi. Occupation/finances	(Int.) CI:11-15

ITEM LOCATION KEY (continued)

Major Variable	Location
D. Objective Adjustments in Behavior (cont.)	
Self-Reported Delinquency	(Ques.) E:1-20
E. Subjective Adjustment	
i. Hope	(Ques.) D:2,3,6,7,10
ii. Discipline	(Ques.) D:1,3,5,8,9
iii. Happiness	(Int.) EI:1-5

CONFIDENTIAL

"A STUDY OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS IN
RED DEER"

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Return to: Wm K. Stuebing
Red Deer College
Red Deer, Alberta

Spring 1976

INTRODUCTION

Before we begin, I would like to read you a short statement of introduction so that you can be fully aware of what this study is all about and how it is being conducted.

This interview is part of a study being carried out through the Sociology Department at the University of Alberta. For the study, we will be talking to a large number of people such as yourself in Red Deer and the surrounding area.

The study is concerned with how young people feel about the society in which they live, their reactions to it, and with some of the things they do. The purpose of this study is to help to develop a better understanding of young people in this area and some of their problems.

There are two things that I want to emphasize at this point.

First, the information which you can give us is very valuable. Finding out how you --and others like you-- feel is very important if the study is to be successful.

Second, so that you will feel free to indicate exactly how you feel, I want to stress that this interview and any information that you give, will be absolutely and totally confidential.

When the report for the study is written, the important information will be the totals for all the people who are taking part. No individual person will be identified and there will be no way anybody will be able to find out who was interviewed or what any single person said.

We hope that you will carefully consider and answer all questions, but if there are some questions that you do not want to answer, you may so indicate and we will go on to the next question.

Finally, we want to thank you for allowing yourself to be interviewed. Without your help this study could not be done.

Now, before we begin, are there any questions which you would like to ask of me?

....

O.K., we will start the interview now. If you have any questions as we go along, please feel free to ask them.

GO TO FIRST QUESTIONS

Interview Schedule
Page 1

IN: ____________

SECTION A: EDUCATION

One of the things we are interested in are the experiences that young people have with school and their ideas about education. Our first questions deal with these topics.

AI:1 At the present time, are you attending school either as a full-time or part-time student?

☐ Full-time ☐ Part-time School: ____________________

☐ Not attending: AI:1a When did you stop attending?

____

AI:2 What grade level are most of your courses at the present time? (OR: ...at the time you stopped attending school?)

☐ Grade ten ☐ Grade twelve

☐ Grade eleven ☐ Other: ________________

AI:3 Of the following, which best describes the program of studies which you are currently taking? (OR: ...were taking at the time you stopped attending?) READ ALTERNATIVES

☐ Vocational ☐ Matriculation

☐ Commercial ☐ Diploma or General

☐ Other: ______________________

AI:4 What is your approximate over-all percentage average standing in the courses you are taking this year (since September)? (OR: ...during the last year you attended school?)

____

AI:5 Doing well in school depends on many things. What things do you feel that you need(ed) to do in order to do well in your classes? (PROBE IF NECESSARY)

____

____

____

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Page 2

IN: ____________

AI:6 What things are important in getting along with teachers? What do (did) you have to do in order to get along well with teachers? (PROBE IF NECESSARY)

AI:7 What things are important in getting along well with other students? What do (did) you have to do in order to get along with other students? (PROBE IF NECESSARY)

AI:8 What are the things you like(d) most about school?

AI:9 What are the things you really dislike(d) about school?

Interview Schedule
Page 3 IN: ____________

The next questions deal with some of your specific experiences and feelings about school. We have found it more convenient to put them in a short questionnaire for you to complete rather than reading each question to you.

HAND RESPONDENT QUESTIONNAIRE A AND PENCIL.

Would you please answer these questions by checking the statement which best describes you. If you do not understand a question or have a question of your own, please ask me.

IF RESPONDENT IS NOT NOW ATTENDING SCHOOL...

For the questions that ask you about your experiences, please answer them as they would have applied when you were going to school.

NOTE QUESTIONS RESPONDENT MAY RAISE:

____

____

____

☐ None raised

AFTER RESPONDENT HAS COMPLETED THE QUESTIONNAIRE:

Before we go on, would you just look over the questionnaire to make certain that you haven't accidentally skipped a question. Thank you.

AI:10 If you could change your school in some way, what would you do to make it a better place for students? (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC IDEAS)

____

____

____

____

____

____

AI:11 Were you ever kept back a grade in school?

☐ No ☐ Yes: Which grade(s) ____________

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IN: ____________

AI:12 Were you ever skipped ahead a grade?

☐ No ☐ Yes: Which grade(s)? ____________

In this interview we are interested in people who drop out of school as well as those who stay in, so the next few questions are about dropping out.

AI:13 What would you say are the major reasons why people drop out of school?

AI:13a Are there any other reasons you can think of, say from things you've heard around others, or at school?

IF RESPONDENT IS NOT NOW IN SCHOOL, SKIP TO QUESTION AI:15.

AI:14 How far do you think you will go in your education? (PROBE: details of educational plans)

AI:14a Do you have plans for when you finish your education? For example, what kind of work are you thinking of going into? (PROBE: details of plans)

IN: ____________

AI:14b How likely is it that things will work out this way? (THIS QUESTION REFERS TO BOTH EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL PLANS --ENCOURAGE RESPONDENT TO SPECIFY ANY AREAS OF PLANS NOT LIKELY TO WORK OUT AS PER AI:14c)

AI:14c What could prevent your plans from working out?

PROCEED TO SECTION B, NEXT PAGE.

IF RESPONDENT IS NOT NOW IN SCHOOL, ASK QUESTION AI:15.

AI:15 Do you have any plans to go back to school and continue your education?

☐ Yes: Ask Ques AI:15a ☐ No: PROCEED TO SECTION B

AI:15a IF YES TO QUES. AI:15;

Why do you plan to go back to school?

When do you think that this might be?

IN: ____________

How likely is it that things will work out this way?

____

____

____

____

What could prevent your plans from working out in this way?

____

____

____

____

PROCEED TO SECTION B.

IN: ____________

SECTION B: DEFINITIONS OF SOCIO-CULTURAL CONDITIONS

The next set of questions are a little different.

Earlier studies have shown us that young people have many different ideas about the way that our society really is. Their ideas include understandings about how other people are as well as such things as government or business.

I am going to show you four cards. On each card is a short summary of what other young people have told us in the earlier studies.

I would like you to read each card carefully and try to decide how close each one comes to the way that you feel society is.

When you have finished reading the four cards, I will ask you to tell me which comes closest to your own point of view, which is the second best description of your point of view, and finally, which of the four statements is the least accurate description of the way you feel.

GIVE RESPONDENT CARDS B1, B2, B3, AND B4 (INSURE CARDS ARE IN ORDER)

BI:1 Of the four statements that you have just read, what is the number on the card of the one which comes closest to your own point of view?

____________ (WRITE IN NUMBER)

BI:2 Of the same four statements, which is the second best description of your feelings? (Please give me the card number.)

____________ (WRITE IN NUMBER)

BI:3 Finally, what is the number on the card which contains the statement that is the least accurate description of your point of view?

____________ (WRITE IN NUMBER)

BE CERTAIN THAT A DIFFERENT NUMBER IS CITED IN EACH OF THE ABOVE

CARD B1

This set of ideas considers all the differences that one can find among people in their ideas, their values and their way of life and feels that this makes our society an interesting place to live.

People who hold this position tend to feel that people are free to do their own thing as long as they don't hurt anybody. People are basically tolerant and respect each other. Nobody will force you to do something you don't want to do.

Nevertheless, people who hold this position feel that while members of our society are different in many ways, they do agree on the really important things like how our society should be run. This is one of the strong points about our society.

CARD B2

This set of ideas considers the many differences among people in our society and finds that some of these differences could be considered problems. Often people who hold this position tend to feel that some groups of people are like they were living in different worlds, for example, young people and adults, and that they really don't communicate anymore.

There are some people whom you can trust and believe, but there are others that you can't trust at all and may have to look out for. Generally speaking, those who hold this view tend to feel that they can depend on their friends but often feel that there are other people and groups who don't care about them and don't try to understand them.

Young people who have this understanding are usually just trying to be themselves, to establish their own identity. They feel that the best thing they can do is just not have anything to do with those who would not understand them or who might try to stop them.

CARD B3

This set of ideas thinks that people are generally pretty dependable and that overall, people in our society get along together quite well. There may be some problems, but we are able to solve them, just like our parents were able to solve their problems and the next generation will be able to solve theirs.

For people who hold this position, how you do something is just as important as how it turns out. If you plan carefully for the future, you are usually able to get what you want.

Our society is changing, but it does so in ways that there is always a lot you can depend on. People who hold this point of view know what they can depend on. They trust their friends and even trust people they don't know because most people live by the rules.

CARD B4

This is the set of ideas held by people who feel that they really can't trust others or depend on them for very much. Those who hold this viewpoint feel that too many people are trying to get things for themselves and really don't care if others get hurt. Far too often, success in our society is measured by how much you can get and it really doesn't matter how you get it.

People who have this set of ideas often feel lonely and confused. They see others breaking the rules and getting away with it, and so it's hard to blame them for breaking some of the rules as well. They often feel that business is based upon getting away with as much as possible, or that government is controlled by a small minority who mostly look out for themselves.

It often appears as if most people just don't see any difference between right or wrong anymore. There are a lot of times we just don't know what to believe. People tend to live only for what they are doing now. Nobody really thinks about the future, or anybody else's future.

IN: ____________

BI:4 You selected the statement on card number _______ (write in) as the one that comes closest to your own point of view. Can you tell me in your own words why you picked that statement? (PROBE -WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO RESPONDENT.)

BI:4a Just how close is it to your own point of view?

BI:4b Are there any important differences between the statement which you selected and your own point of view?

BI:4c Thinking of your best friends, do they have the same (or similar) point of view as you do? (PROBE FOR REASONS WHY)

IN: ____________

BI:4d Do you feel that any of your closest friends might select a different statement as being closer to their point of view? (PROBE: What proportion differ? What ways? Why does Respondent feel this way?)

BI:4e What about just people in general? What proportion of people in general do you think share the point of view that you have? (PROBE PROPORTION AND REASONS.)

BI:5 You selected the statement on card number _____ (write in) as the one that is the second best description of your feelings. Can you tell me in your own words why you picked that statement second? (PROBE MEANING TO RESPONDENT; NOTE DIFFERENCES WITH FIRST CHOICE.)

BI:5a What about people in general again? What proportion of people in general would you estimate would say that this statement is the closest to their point of view? (PROBE PROPORTION AND REASONS.)

IN: ____________

BI:6 Looking now at the statement which you consider to be the least accurate description of your point of view, the one on card number _______ (write in). Why did you pick this one as the least accurate? (PROBE MEANING TO RESPONDENT.)

BI:6a Finally, thinking again about people in general, what proportion of them do you think might consider this statement the most accurate description of their feelings? (PROBE FOR PROPORTION AND REASONS.)

BI:7 Before we go on to the next part of the interview, is there anything further that you would like to say about the things we have been talking about here?

PROCEED TO SECTION C

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Page 11

IN: ____________

SECTION C: SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

The next questions are about how young people spend their leisure time, the things you do when you are not [illegible]chool or studying.

CI:1 At the present time, do you belong to any clubs or organized groups in the community such as the band society, a church young people's group, a political party, cadet corps, etc.? Do not include school-related groups or athletic teams.

☐ None -SKIP TO QUESTION CI:3

LIST GROUPS BY NAME:

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	______________________	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2.	______________________	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3.	______________________	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4.	______________________	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5.	______________________	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6.	______________________	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
7.	______________________	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
8.	______________________	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
9.	______________________	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
		Regularly	Frequently	Sometimes	Rarely	Never

CI:1a Generally speaking, how often do you attend meetings of the groups you have just mentioned? READ ALTERNATIVES AND SCORE BESIDE NAME OR GROUP.

1. Regularly
2. Frequently
3. Sometimes
4. Rarely
5. Never

IN: ____________

CI:1b Do you hold any office such as treasurer, leader, vice-president, etc. in these groups at the present time?

☐ No

☐ Yes: In how many groups? ____________

CI:2 During the past year, have you participated in any organized athletic teams or other sports activity sponsored by your school or some other community group? (Do not include intramural sports in the school.)

☐ No

☐ Yes: In how many such activities? ____________

IF RESPONDENT IS NOT CURRENTLY ATTENDING SCHOOL, SKIP TO Q. CI:7

CI:3 Do you take part in the intramural (house league) sports program at your school?

☐ No

☐ Yes: In how many different activities? ____________

CI:4 Are you involved in the activities of the student government?

☐ No

☐ Yes: In what ways; to what extent?

____

____

____

CI:5 Do you participate in the activities of your school's organizations for students either related to your courses and career plans or some other special interests?

☐ No

☐ Yes: Could you name the groups; to what extent?

____

____

IN: ____________

CI:6 What is your estimate of the total number of hours you give to organized extracurricular activities at your school in an average week?

☐ None
☐ Five or less
☐ Between six and ten
☐ More than ten

CI:7 About how often do you visit friends (not including relatives) in their home each month? (Do not count dating.)

☐ Not at all
☐ Once a month or less
☐ 2 or 3 times a month
☐ About once a week
☐ 2 or 3 times a week
☐ 4 or 5 times a week
☐ 6 times a week or more

CI:8 About how often do your friends (not including relatives) visit you in your home each month? (Do not count dating.)

☐ Not at all
☐ Once a month or less
☐ 2 or 3 times a month
☐ About once a week
☐ 2 or 3 times a week
☐ 4 or 5 times a week
☐ 6 times a week or more

CI:9 On the average, how many evenings a week do you usually go out for fun and recreation or to pass leisure time in some way? (Not counting dating)

☐ Less than one
☐ One
☐ Two
☐ Three
☐ Four
☐ Five
☐ Six
☐ Seven

IN: ____________

CI:10 On the average, how often do you go out on dates?

☐ Do not date

☐ Very rarely

☐ Occasionally

☐ About once a month

☐ 2 or 3 times a month

☐ About once a week

☐ 2 or 3 times a week

☐ 4 or 5 times a week

☐ 6 times a week or more

The next questions deal with some of your experiences with your friends and with the ways you use your leisure time. Again we have found it convenient to put them in a short questionnaire for you to complete rather than reading each question to you.

GIVE RESPONDENT QUESTIONNAIRE B AND A PENCIL

Would you please answer these questions by checking the statement which best describes you. If you do not understand a question or have a question of your own, please ask me.

NOTE QUESTIONS RESPONDENT MAY RAISE:

____

____

____

☐ None raised

AFTER RESPONDENT HAS COMPLETED THE QUESTIONNAIRE:

Before we continue, would you please just look over the questionnaire to make certain that there aren't any questions that have been accidentally skipped. Thank you.

IN: ____________

The next few questions deal with paying jobs.

CI:11 Are you working at the present time?

☐ No -SKIP TO QUESTION CI:12

☐ Yes; Do you have more than one job? (Number:________)

IF RESPONDENT WORKS AT MORE THAN TWO JOBS, INQUIRE ABOUT THE TWO HE SPENDS MOST TIME AT.

CI:11a What kind of work do you do on your job? PROBE FOR SPECIFIC DESCRIPTION OF ACTIVITIES.

1st job: ____
____

2nd job: ____
____

☐ More than two jobs currently held. Number: __________

CI:11b About how many hours a week do you work on your job?

1st job: __________ hours per week

2nd job: __________ hours per week

TOTAL HOURS WORKED PER WEEK: __________

CI:11c Approximately how much money do you earn from your job in a week?

1st job: $__________ per week

2nd job: $__________ per week

TOTAL AMOUNT EARNED PER WEEK: $__________

IN: ____________

CI:11d How long have you had this job?

1st job: ________ months

2nd job: ________ months

CI:11e Thinking over the different things about your job --the work, your boss, the people you work with, the pay-- how satisfied are you with your job as a whole?

1st job: ☐ Very satisfied ☐ Somewhat dissatisfied
☐ Somewhat satisfied ☐ Very dissatisfied

2nd job: ☐ Very satisfied ☐ Somewhat dissatisfied
☐ Somewhat satisfied ☐ Very dissatisfied

CI:12 How much money do you have to spend in an average week? Think about all the money you get, from jobs, allowance, or anyplace else.

$________ per week

CI:13 Now all in all, how do you feel about the money you have? Is it enough for you, or could you use more?

☐ Currently enough -SKIP TO QUESTION CI:14

☐ Could use more: How much more? ____________________
____

CI:13a Can you tell me the reasons you'd like to have more money?

____
____
____
____
____

IN: ____________

CI:14 Do you have any money saved?

☐ No - SKIP TO QUESTION CI:15

☐ Yes

CI:14a About how much money do you have saved?

$ __________

CI:14b What do you expect to use your savings for?

____

____

____

____

CI:15 On the whole, do you feel that you have more money to spend than your friends do, about the same amount, or less than your friends?

☐ More ☐ About the same ☐ Less

CI:16 Do you have a Driver's License?

☐ No; PROCEED TO SECTION D

☐ Yes; Do you own a car or have access to one regularly?

  ☐ No; PROCEED TO SECTION D

  ☐ Yes, own; Make and year: ______________

  ☐ Yes, access; Whose car? ______________

  ____

  How often used? ______________

  ____

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IN: ____________

SECTION D: FAMILY BACKGROUND

Another important part of a person's life involves his family. These next questions are about you and your family background.

DI:1 Could you tell me the date of your birth?

__________ MONTH ______ DAY, 19___ (Age: _____ years)

DI:2 Where were you born? ______ CITY ______ PROVINCE ______ (COUNTRY)

DI:3 Are both your natural parents living?

☐ No, only mother living
☐ No, only father living
☐ No, neither living
} -SKIP TO QUESTION DI:3c

☐ Yes, both living

DI:3a Do you live with your own mother and father?

☐ Yes -SKIP TO QUESTION DI:4

☐ No

DI:3b Do they happen to be divorced or separated?

☐ Yes ☐ No

DI:3c Who do you live with now?

☐ Mother only ☐ Mother and Stepfather

☐ Father only ☐ Father and Stepmother

☐ Stepmother and Stepfather

☐ Other, Specify: ______________________________

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DI:3d How long have you been living with ____________ (cite answer to DI:3c)?

____

DI:4 Do you know where your father was born?

____
CITY PROVINCE (COUNTRY)

DI:4a And where was your mother born?

____
CITY PROVINCE (COUNTRY)

DI:5 Counting yourself, how many children are there in your family? (IF MORE THAN ONE: Which one are you --the eldest, second eldest, youngest?)

Respondent is ______________ of __________ children
1st, 2nd, etc. NUMBER

DI:6 Now I'd like to ask about your father's (male guardian's) occupation. Is he:

☐ Working now

☐ Unemployed, sick, laid off

☐ NOT APPLICABLE: SKIP TO Q. DI:7

☐ Retired

☐ Other; Specify: ______________________________

DI:6a What is (was) his main occupation? What sort of work does (did) he do? PROBE FOR EXACT JOB DESCRIPTION AND TYPE OF BUSINESS OR INDUSTRY.

____

____

____

IN: ____________

DI:7 And your mother (female guardian), is she:

☐ Working now

☐ Unemployed, sick laid off

☐ NOT APPLICABLE: SKIP TO Q. DI:8

☐ Retired

☐ Housewife: Has your mother been employed outside the home at any time since you were born?

  ☐ No -SKIP TO QUESTION DI:8

  ☐ Yes

☐ Other; Specify: ______________________

DI:7a What is (was) her main occupation? What sort of work does (did) she do? PROBE FOR EXACT JOB DESCRIPTION AND TYPE OF BUSINESS OR INDUSTRY.

____

____

____

DI:8 How many years of formal education does (did) your father (male guardian) have? PROBE FOR EXACT DESCRIPTION, E.G., BUSINESS OR TRADE SCHOOL PROGRAM, TYPE OF UNIVERSITY DEGREE(S), ETC.

________ Years

DESCRIPTION: ______________________

____

DI:9 How much formal education does (did) your mother (female guardian) have? PROBE FOR EXACT DESCRIPTION

________ Years

DESCRIPTION: ______________________

____

IN: ____________

DI:10 Now I am going to show you a card containing nine income categories. Could you make your best estimate of the total income of your family last year from all sources and tell me the number of the category on the card that includes your estimate.
IF THE QUESTION SHOULD BE AMBIGUOUS, THE REFERENCE IS TO THE RESPONDENT'S PARENTAL FAMILY. SHOW CARD 'D' (IF FARMER, DO NOT INCLUDE FARM OPERATING EXPENSES.)

1. ☐ Less than $4,000
2. ☐ $4,000 to $5,999
3. ☐ $6,000 to $7,999
4. ☐ $8,000 to $9,999
5. ☐ $10,000 to $13,999
6. ☐ $14,000 to $19,999
7. ☐ $20,000 to $25,999
8. ☐ $26,000 to $31,999
9. ☐ Over $32,000

DI:11 Do you have a church preference?

☐ No

☐ Yes; What church would that be? ______________________________

____

DI:12 Do you (ever) attend church or other religious services?

☐ No

☐ Yes; How often do you attend?

☐ More than once a week
☐ Once a week
☐ 2 or 3 times a month
☐ About once a month
☐ 3 or 4 times a year
☐ 1 or 2 times a year

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IN: ____________

IF INTERVIEW TAKES PLACE IN RESPONDENT'S HOME, PROCEED TO NEXT PAGE. (While R. completes questionnaire 'C' Interviewer may complete the following questions.)

IF INTERVIEW TAKES PLACE ELSEWHERE THAN RESPONDENT'S HOME, CONTINUE WITH THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS.

DI:13 Do you live in Red Deer?

☐ Yes

☐ No; Where is your home? ______________________________

DI:14 Which of the following best describes the place where you live? READ ALTERNATIVES

☐ A one-family home

☐ A two-family house or duplex

☐ Small apartment house (3 or 4 families)

☐ Large apartment house (5 families or more)

☐ Mobile home

☐ Other; Specify: ______________________________

PROCEED TO NEXT PAGE

IN: ____________

The next questions are in the form of a short questionnaire dealing with some of your feelings about your family, an important topic that we sometimes overlook in studies of this kind.

And again I want to remind you that your answers will be totally confidential. No one will be told any one person's answers.

GIVE RESPONDENT QUESTIONNAIRE C AND A PENCIL

The method here is the same as before. Would you please check the statement which best describes your experiences or feelings. And if you do not understand a question or have a question of your own, please ask me.

NOTE QUESTIONS RESPONDENT MAY RAISE:

____

____

____

☐ None raised

AFTER RESPONDENT HAS COMPLETED THE QUESTIONNAIRE:

Again, before we continue, would you just check to be sure that you didn't accidentally skip a question? Thank you.

DI:15 Considering your experiences, when you have a family to raise, would you want to raise it the same way you have been raised? Or would you want to raise it differently?

☐ Same: PROBE -Why do you feel that way?
-Are there any things you might do differently?

☐ Different: PROBE -What kinds of things would you do differently?
-Why do you feel this way?
-Are there any things you would do the same?

____

____

____

____

WRITE ON BACK IF NECESSARY

IN: ____________

SECTION E: SUBJECTIVE MEANINGFULNESS

These last questions are about matters of opinion. We are interested in your opinions about society and other people in general.

The questions are again in the form of a short questionnaire.

GIVE RESPONDENT QUESTIONNAIRE D AND A PENCIL

Please check the answer that is closest to your feelings and opinions. And if you have any questions, please ask me.

NOTE QUESTIONS RESPONDENT MAY RAISE:

____

____

____

☐ None raised

AFTER RESPONDENT HAS COMPLETED THE QUESTIONNAIRE:

We know that people tend to be happy about some things in their lives and unhappy about other things. In the next few questions, I'd like to ask about things that make you happy and things that make you unhappy.

EI:1 First, what are the things that you are happy about these days? (PROBE: TRY TO IDENTIFY IMPORTANT SOURCES OF HAPPINESS)

____

____

____

____

____

EI:2 What are some of the things that make you unhappy? (PROBE)

____

____

____

____

____

IN: ____________

EI:3 Now that you have told me about the things that make you happy and the things that make you unhappy, I am going to show you a card. On it are a number of statements about happiness and unhappiness. I would like you to tell me which statement best describes how you feel generally at the present time.
SHOW CARD 'E'

☐ Very happy
☐ Quite happy
☐ Fairly happy
☐ Neither happy nor unhappy

☐ Fairly unhappy
☐ Quite unhappy
☐ Very unhappy

EI:3a Compared to your life today, how do you think things will be ten years from now? I'll show you another card and ask you to tell me which statement best describes what you expect.
SHOW CARD 'F'

☐ Much happier
☐ Happier
☐ The same

☐ Less happy
☐ Much less happy
☐ It depends

EI:3b What makes you feel this way?

____

____

____

____

IN: ____________

EI:4 Now, there's one more general question I would like to ask. Can you tell me what are the three most important problems that you worry about these days? (PROBE FOR DETAILS)

ONE: ____________________

TWO: ____________________

THREE: ____________________

IN: ____________

That concludes the main interview, (R's NAME). I want to thank you again for your co-operation. Without your help and the help of people like you, this research could not be done.

We would like you to consider one additional item, a very short questionnaire. However, it is optional and you can decide whether or not you wish to fill it in.

The questions deal with a part of the lives of young people about which not very much is known. They deal with things that may be against the rules or against the law.

Nevertheless, if this study is to help develop a better understanding of young people in Red Deer, it must deal with all the questions. For this, we depend on you and people like you.

Please keep in mind that just like any of the information you have given us, this last part will also be absolutely confidential. In addition, for this part of the interview, we have decided to make all answers fully anonymous as well.

If you agree to complete these last few questions, I will also give you an envelope with the questionnaire. After you have answered the questions, seal them into the envelope. No identifying marks will be put on the envelope and none of the envelopes will be opened until after all the interviews have been completed. No one, not even those people working on the study, will know who answered what.

Under these conditions, (R's NAME), are you willing to answer the optional questions?

☐ R. DOES NOT AGREE; PROCEED TO "CONCLUSION" ON NEXT PAGE

☐ R. AGREES; GIVE R. QUESTIONNAIRE E, ENVELOPE AND PENCIL.

Thank you once again. Please try to answer each question as honestly as possible. And remember that this is fully confidential and anonymous. If you should have any questions, please ask me.

IN: ____________

BEFORE RESPONDENT SEALS ENVELOPE:

Before you seal the questionnaire in the envelope, would you please take a quick second look to be sure that you have not unintentionally missed a question. Thank you.

** CONCLUSION:

Well once again I want to thank you, (R's NAME), for your co-operation. We truly appreciate your assistance.

Before we finish, are there any additional comments which you would like to make about any of the things we have been talking about?

Do you want us to send you a summary of the results when they are available? IF "YES," HAVE RESPONDENT PROVIDE NAME AND ADDRESS ON SUMMARY REQUEST FORM.

Thank you again.

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER:

Before leaving, please insure that you have not left interview materials behind. Be certain that you have all five questionnaires, cards, interview schedule, etc.

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IN: ____________

POST-INTERVIEW INFORMATION

BY OBSERVATION

The following questions are to be completed by the interviewer immediately after leaving the interview.

1. Name of Interviewer: ______________________________

2. Date of Interview: ______________

3. Time of Interview: ______________ 4. Duration: ______________

5. Respondent's degree of cooperation:

☐ Excellent

☐ Good
☐ Fair → EXPLAIN: ______________________________
☐ Poor ______________________________

6. Was anyone else present at any time during the interview?

☐ No; SKIP TO QUESTION 7

☐ Yes; a. Who? (give age, sex and relationship to R. if possible.)
____

b. For how long was this person present?
____

7. Note below any unusual problem in this interview.

____
____
____
____
____

QUESTIONNAIRE A

Please answer the following questions by checking (☑) the answer that best describes you. Feel free to ask any questions you might have.

A:1 Do most of your teachers think of you as one of their hardest working students even though not necessarily one of the brightest?

☐ Definitely not ☐ Yes, by and large

☐ No, by and large ☐ Definitely yes

A:2 Compared with most of your classmates, how much studying do you do?

☐ I study much less than most of my classmates

☐ I study slightly less than most of them

☐ I study slightly more than most of my classmates

☐ I study much more than most of them

A:3 Do you make notes while reading textbooks?

☐ No, almost never

☐ Once in a while (e.g. depending on the subject)

☐ I generally do, but I have no particular note-making system

☐ I almost always do make notes while reading and I have a systematic way for doing so

A:4 Do you ever find yourself unintentionally napping or daydreaming when you intended to be studying?

☐ Frequently ☐ Infrequently

☐ Occasionally ☐ Never

A:5 Do other interests (e.g. sports, hobbies, dating, etc.) prevent you from getting better grades in school?

☐ Fairly often ☐ Rarely

☐ Occasionally ☐ Never

A:6 Do you tend to delay or give up on uninteresting assignments in school?

☐ Fairly often ☐ Rarely

☐ Occasionally ☐ Never

A:7 Do you keep some sort of study schedule or regularly budget time for studying?

☐ No, I tend to work when the pressure is on

☐ No, but I have tried to follow some kind of study routine

☐ I have kept a schedule but have not been very good about following it

☐ I have kept a schedule and have stuck to it fairly well

A:8 When going into examinations in school, how often do you feel adequately prepared?

☐ I almost always feel that I am not adequately prepared

☐ More often than not, I do not feel prepared

☐ More often than not, I feel prepared

☐ Almost always I feel adequately prepared

A:9 In terms of your own personal satisfaction, how much importance do you attach to getting good grades?

☐ None, or not much

☐ A moderate amount

☐ Quite a bit

☐ A great deal

A:10 Do many of your teachers seem to take a personal interest in you?

☐ All my teachers take a personal interest in me

☐ Most of my teachers take a personal interest in me

☐ Some of my teachers take a personal interest in me

☐ A few of my teachers take a personal interest in me

☐ None of my teachers take a personal interest in me

A:11 How often do you talk privately with any of your teachers about school work (even if it is just for a few minutes)?

☐ Nearly every day

☐ Once or twice a week

☐ Once or twice a month

☐ Once or twice a term

☐ Never

A:12 How often do you have a private talk with any of your teachers about other things than school work?

☐ Nearly every day
☐ Once or twice a week
☐ Once or twice a month
☐ Once or twice a term
☐ Never

A:13 Do you have any plans for the occupation or career you want to go into after you finish school?

☐ Yes, a definite career plan
☐ Yes, some general plans
☐ Yes, but they are only vague plans
☐ At present I have no real ideas about what I want to do when I finish school

A:14 How interesting are most of your courses to you?

☐ Very exciting, stimulating
☐ Quite interesting
☐ Fairly interesting
☐ Slightly dull
☐ Very dull

A:15 Outside of homework, how often do you have discussions with friends about ideas that come up in your courses?

☐ Several times a day
☐ About once a day
☐ About once or twice a week
☐ Once or twice a month
☐ Never

A:16 How often are you interested enough by your courses to do more reading or other work than is required?

☐ Most of the time
☐ Often
☐ Sometimes
☐ Hardly ever
☐ Never

The next questions ask for your own feelings about school. Please read each of the statements in the list. Then go to the four boxes on the right and put a check in the box that tells how you feel about the thing on the list.

(Please check only one box on each line)

	I feel this way . . .	1 Very much	2 Pretty much	3 A little	4 Not at all
A:17	I feel satisfied with school because I learn more about things I want to know about	☐	☐	☐	☐
A:18	Even if I could get a very good job at present, I'd still choose to stay in school and get my education	☐	☐	☐	☐
A:19	There is no real value in getting an education unless it helps you get ahead in life	☐	☐	☐	☐
A:20	I think school is important, not only for the practical value, but because learning itself is very worthwhile	☐	☐	☐	☐
A:21	School is very boring to me, and I'm not learning what I feel is important	☐	☐	☐	☐
A:22	A real education comes from your own experience and not from the things you learn in school	☐	☐	☐	☐
A:23	An education is a worthwhile thing in life, even if it doesn't help you get a job	☐	☐	☐	☐
A:24	I can satisfy my curiosity by the things I learn outside of school better than by the things I learn in school.	☐	☐	☐	☐
A:25	I like school because I am learning the things I will need to know to be a good citizen.	☐	☐	☐	☐
A:26	One of the main reasons I am still in school is that I don't have any other choice right now.	☐	☐	☐	☐
A:27	I feel I can learn more from a really good job than I can in school.	☐	☐	☐	☐
A:28	I believe that education helps a person to become a mature adult	☐	☐	☐	☐

Here are some questions dealing with things schools often make rules about. We're interested in those things you might do that could get you in trouble at school. The only way we can learn about how people such as yourself feel is by everyone giving honest answers to each question

Remember, no one at school or home will see your answers. This is completely confidential.

Please read each question on the list. Then go to the five boxes on the right and put a check in the box that tells how often you do this.

(Please check only one box on each line)

		1 Almost always	2 Often	3 Sometimes	4 Seldom	5 Never
A:29	How often are you late for class?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A:30	How often do you skip classes (when against school rules)?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A:31	How often do you come to class unprepared?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A:32	How often do you do your best work in school?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A:33	How often do you goof-off in class so others can't work?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A:34	How often do you do things that you know will make the teacher angry?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A:35	How often do you fight or argue with other students?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A:36	How often do you cheat on tests or exams?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A:37	How often do you hand in sloppy or incomplete assignments?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A:38	How often do you copy someone else's assignments?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

QUESTIONNAIRE B

B:1 Other than time spent at school or your job, in the past year how much time per week (including weekends) would you estimate you have spent in casual conversations with friends and acquaintances?

☐ sixteen or more hours
☐ eleven to fifteen hours
☐ six to ten hours
☐ one to five hours

B:2 As a description of yourself, how accurate is the following statement: "I am one of a group of close friends, and we do most things together"?

☐ Very accurate
☐ Fairly accurate
☐ Not particularly accurate
☐ Definitely inaccurate

B:3 How often will you maintain your point of view in spite of other people (friends and acquaintances) losing patience with you?

☐ Rarely
☐ Occasionally
☐ Quite often
☐ Very often

B:4 Other than on dates, do you generally take part in leisure time or recreational activities by yourself or with one friend, or with a group of friends?

☐ Almost always with a group of friends
☐ Usually with a group of friends
☐ Almost always by myself or with one friend

B:5 Would you say that you often seem to ignore the opinions of other people (friends and acquaintances) when you are trying to accomplish something that is important to you?

☐ No, never
☐ Rarely
☐ Occasionally
☐ Yes, frequently

B:6 Do you generally consult with close friends while you are in the process of making some fairly important decision?

☐ Almost always
☐ Usually I do
☐ Seldom
☐ Almost never

B:7 Could you become so involved in some kind of activity that you would lose interest in what your good friends were doing?

☐ Definitely not, impossible
☐ Extremely unlikely
☐ Some probability
☐ Quite or very possible

B:8 Before you do something, do you try to consider how your friends will react to it?

☐ Yes, I always do
☐ Yes, I usually do
☐ Sometimes I do
☐ No, usually not

B:9 How many really close friends do you have, the kind you enjoy being with, spend a good deal of time with, and can really depend on? (Do not count members of your family.)

☐ None really
☐ One
☐ Two
☐ Three
☐ Four or five
☐ Six or seven
☐ Eight or nine
☐ Ten or more

The following questions list some of the things that people like to do in their leisure time.

Please read each item on the list. Then go to the five boxes on the right and put a check in the box that tells how often you have done this in the past year.

(Please check only one box on each line)

	In the past year, I have done this. . .	Never 1	Rarely 2	Occasionally 3	Fairly often 4	Frequently 5
B:10	Attend a large social function such as a dance, banquet, etc..	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
B:11	Attend an art exhibit, poetry reading, professional theatre, or similar event.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
B:12	Go to a movie.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
B:13	Work on special hobbies such as stamps, photography, writing poetry, etc.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
B:14	Spectator at a live sporting event	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
B:15	Go fishing, hunting or camping	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
B:16	Spend time just sitting and thinking	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
B:17	Attend a small party in a private home or entertain friends in your home	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
B:18	Go shopping.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
B:19	Read a magazine or newspaper	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
B:20	Do volunteer work in some kind of community or social service	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
B:21	Write personal letters to friends and relatives.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
B:22	Participate in individual sports such as swimming, golf, skating, biking, etc..	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
B:23	Play a musical instrument or sing.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
B:24	Read a book.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
B:25	Have conversations with members of your family or do odd jobs around the house	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
B:26	Spend time in casual contacts with friends, "just hanging around," etc..	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
B:27	Watch television	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
B:28	Participate in team sports	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

QUESTIONNAIRE C

C:1 Many parents take a great deal of interest in what their sons do. How important is it to you that you satisfy your parents' wishes?

☐ Very important
☐ Fairly important
☐ Moderately important
☐ Not very important

C:2 Do you consult with your parents when you are faced with important personal decisions?

☐ I almost always do
☐ I usually do
☐ I occasionally do
☐ I rarely do

C:3 Could you become so absorbed in some kind of activity that you would lose interest in your family?

☐ Definitely [redacted]possible
☐ Extremely unlikely
☐ Some probability
☐ Quite or very possible

C:4 Do you feel that in the past year or so that you have been growing closer to your family or further away from it?

☐ Much closer
☐ Slightly closer
☐ Slightly away
☐ Much further away

C:5 How dependent on your parents (or independent of them) do you consider yourself to be at the present time?

☐ Quite dependent
☐ Somewhat dependent
☐ Somewhat independent
☐ Very independent

C:6 When you were growing up, how did you feel about how much affection you got from your father (or male guardian)?

☐ Wanted and got enough affection
☐ Wanted slightly more than I received
☐ Wanted more than I received
☐ Did not want affection from him

C:7 How often do you and your father (or male guardian) do things together that you both enjoy --things like playing sports, or going to sporting events, or working on things together?

☐ Several times a week
☐ About once a week
☐ Once or twice a month
☐ Less than once a month

C:8 How close do you feel to your father (or male guardian)?

☐ Extremely close
☐ Quite close
☐ Fairly close
☐ Not very close

C:9 As a person, how much do you want to be like your father (or male guardian)?

☐ Very much like him
☐ Somewhat like him
☐ A little like him
☐ Not very much like him
☐ Not at all like him

C:10 When you were growing up, how did you feel about how much affection you got from your mother (or female guardian)?

☐ Wanted and got enough affection
☐ Wanted slightly more than I received
☐ Wanted more than I received
☐ Did not want affection from her

C:11 How close do you feel to your mother (or female guardian)?

☐ Extremely close
☐ Quite close
☐ Fairly close
☐ Not very close

C:12 How much do you want to be like the kind of person your mother (or female guardian) is?

☐ Very much
☐ Somewhat
☐ A little
☐ Not very much
☐ Not at all

C:13 How much influence do you feel that you have in family decisions that affect you?

☐ A great deal of influence
☐ Considerable influence
☐ Moderate influence
☐ Some influence
☐ Little or no influence

C:14 How often do your parents (or guardians) talk over important decisions with you?

☐ Always ☐ Seldom
☐ Often ☐ Never
☐ Sometimes

C:15 How often do your parents (or guardians) listen to your side of the argument?

☐ Always ☐ Seldom
☐ Often ☐ Never
☐ Sometimes

C:16 How often do your parents (or guardians) act fair and reasonable in what they ask you?

☐ Always ☐ Seldom
☐ Often ☐ Never
☐ Sometimes

QUESTIONNAIRE C Page 4

Next, we would like to get some idea of how often your parents (or guardians) do each of the following things.

Please read each item on the list. Then check the box on the right which gives the best answer.

(Please check only one box on each line)

How often do your parents:		1 Always	2 Often	3 Sometimes	4 Seldom	5 Never
C:17	Completely ignore you after you have done something wrong.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
C:18	Act as if they don't care about you any more	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
C:19	Disagree with each other when it comes to raising you.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
C:20	Actually slap you.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
C:21	Take away your privileges (TV, movies, dates, etc.). .	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
C:22	Blame you or criticize you when you didn't deserve it.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
C:23	Threaten to slap you	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
C:24	Yell, shout or scream at you	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
C:25	Disagree about punishing you	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
C:26	Nag at you	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

QUESTIONNAIRE D

The following statements are opinions expressed by other young people in an early study. How do you feel about these matters?

Please read each statement carefully and then check the box on the right that comes closest to the way you feel.

		1 Strongly Agree	2 Mostly Agree	3 Mostly Disagree	4 Strongly Disagree
D:1	If you value friendship, it is important that you live up to your friends' expectations	☐	☐	☐	☐
D:2	I'm reasonably certain where I'll be and what I'll be doing ten years from now	☐	☐	☐	☐
D:3	Usually I feel that if you have to work too hard for something, it really isn't worth it	☐	☐	☐	☐
D:4	Sometimes I just don't know what's going to happen to me	☐	☐	☐	☐
D:5	You've got to plan and work in order to get things.	☐	☐	☐	☐
D:6	Being confident in knowing what comes next for me isn't very important.	☐	☐	☐	☐
D:7	Generally speaking, I know where I'm going and what I want.	☐	☐	☐	☐
D:8	I feel that I am able to determine the course of my life.	☐	☐	☐	☐
D:9	In general I live for today since it's the only real world there is.	☐	☐	☐	☐
D:10	I know what my goals are and I'm working towards them	☐	☐	☐	☐

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

D:11 In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse.

☐ I generally agree with this statement

☐ I generally disagree with this statement

D:12 It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.

☐ I generally agree with this statement

☐ I generally disagree with this statement

D:13 Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.

☐ I generally agree with this statement

☐ I generally disagree with this statement

D:14 These days a person doesn't really know who he can count on.

☐ I generally agree with this statement

☐ I generally disagree with this statement

D:15 There's little use writing to public officials because they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man.

☐ I generally agree with this statement

☐ I generally disagree with this statement

The following statements are opinions about other people in general. How do you feel about these questions? Check the answer that comes closest to your point of view.

D:16 Some people say that most people can be trusted. Others say you can't be too careful in your dealings with people. How do you feel about it?

☐ Most people can be trusted

☐ You can't be too careful in dealing with others

D:17 Would you say that most people are inclined to help others or more inclined to look out for themselves?

☐ More inclined to help others

☐ More inclined to look out for themselves

D:18 If you don't watch yourself, people will take advantage of you.

☐ This statement is generally true

☐ This statement is generally false

D:19 No one is going to care much what happens to you, when you get right down to it.

☐ This statement is generally true

☐ This statement is generally false

D:20 Human nature is fundamentally cooperative.

☐ Generally true

☐ Generally false

QUESTIONNAIRE E

Confidential and Anonymous. Do not put any identifying marks on this page.

These questions deal with things which a person might do that could get him in trouble. Please tell us how many times you have done these things in the past two years. For each question, put a check in the box for the answer that is true for you.

	In the past two years, how often have you...	1 Frequently	2 Fairly Often	3 Occasionally	4 Rarely	5 Never
E:1	Driven a car without a driver's license or permit?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
E:2	Run away from Home?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
E:3	Been out at night just "fooling around" when you were supposed to be at home?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
E:4	Taken something not belonging to you worth under $50?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
E:5	Consumed wine or liquor when it was illegal to do so (example: being underage)?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
E:6	Set fire to someone else's property on purpose?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
E:7	Been suspended or expelled from school?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
E:8	Argued or had a fight with either of your parents?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
E:9	Purposely damaged or destroyed public or private property that did not belong to you?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
E:10	Had sex relations with a girl?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
E:11	Hit your father?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
E:12	Damaged school property on purpose?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
E:13	Taken something from a store without paying for it?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
E:14	Gotten drunk.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
E:15	Used cannabis drugs (Marijuana or Hashish)?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
E:16	Used other illegal chemical drugs or narcotics?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
E:17	Hurt someone badly enough to need bandages or a doctor?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
E:18	Taken a car that didn't belong to someone in your family without permission of the owner?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
E:19	Taken part in a fight where a bunch of your friends are against another bunch?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
E:20	Taken something not belonging to you worth over $50?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
E:21	Used a knife or gun or some other thing (like a club) to get something from a person?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Appendix D: Ancillary Tables.

Table A:1. Place of Birth by Subjective Definitions.

Subjective Definition	Place of Birth Central Alberta	 Other Alberta	 Elsewhere	Sample Totals
	N= 45 %	N= 16 %	N= 19 %	N= 80 %
C.U.	38	19	37	34
P.V.D.	11	38	5	15
S.A.	27	31	26	28
F.A.	24	13	11	24
	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 9.846$, $p > .05$

Table A:2. Place of Residence by Subjective Definitions.

Subjective Definition	Place of Residence City of Red Deer	 County/ Penhold	Sample Totals
	N= 70 %	N= 10 %	N= 80 %
C.U.	33	40	34
P.V.D.	16	10	15
S.A.	27	40	28
F.A.	26	10	24
	100	100	100

$X^2 = 1.882$, $p > .05$

Table A:3. Type of Residence by Subjective Definitions.

Subjective Definition	Single Family Dwelling	Other	Sample Totals
	Type of Residence		
	N= 73 %	N= 7 %	N= 80 %
C.U.	34	29	34
P.V.D.	15	14	15
S.A.	27	29	28
F.A.	23	29	24
	100	100	100

$X^2 = 0.142,\ p > .05$

Table A:4. School Attended by Subjective Definitions.

Subjective Definition	Public High School	Separate High School	Sample Totals
	School Attended		
	N= 63 %	N= 13 %	N= 76* %
C.U.	30	54	34
P.V.D.	16	15	16
S.A.	30	15	28
F.A.	24	15	22
	100	100	100

$X^2 = 4.032,\ p > .05$

* Four respondents not currently attending school.

Table A:5. Grade Level by Subjective Definitions.

Subjective Definition	Grade Level: Grade Ten/ Grade Eleven	Grade Level: Grade Twelve	Sample Totals
	N= 40 %	N= 40 %	N= 80* %
C.U.	35	33	34
P.V.D.	15	15	15
S.A.	33	23	28
F.A.	18	30	24
	100	100	100

$X^2 = 2.080$, $p > .05$

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* Includes grade level last attended for four respondents currently not at school.

Table A:6. Employment Status by Subjective Definitions.

Subjective Definition	Employment Status: Not Employed	Employment Status: Employed	Sample Totals
	N= 24 %	N= 56 %	N= 80 %
C.U.	38	32	34
P.V.D.	17	14	15
S.A.	33	25	28
F.A.	13	28	24
	100	100	100

$X^2 = 2.458$, $p > .05$

Table A:7. Length of Employment by Subjective Definitions.

Subjective Definition	Less Than Six Months	Between Six and Twelve Months	Twelve Months or More	Sample Totals
	N= 15 %	N= 23 %	N= 18 %	N= 56* %
C.U.	53	30	17	32
P.V.D.	13	17	11	14
S.A.	13	30	28	25
F.A.	20	21	44	29
	100	100	100	100

Column group: Length of Employment

$X^2 = 7.242,\ p > .05$

---

* 24 respondents do not have employment.

Table A:8. Religious Preference by Subjective Definitions.

Subjective Definition	United/ Anglican	Other Protestant	Roman Catholic	None	Sample Totals
	N= 17 %	N= 17 %	N= 14 %	N= 31 %	N= 79* %
C.U.	41	24	50	29	34
P.V.D.	12	12	7	23	15
S.A.	29	41	21	23	28
F.A.	18	24	21	26	23
	100	100	100	100	100

Column group: Religious Preference

$X^2 = 6.414,\ p > .05$

---

* One respondent declined to answer this question.

Table A:9. Church Attendance by Subjective Definitions.

Subjective Definitions	Church Attendance: Once a Month Or More	Less Than Once a Month	Never	Sample Totals
	N= 20 %	N= 17 %	N= 43 %	N= 80 %
C.U.	35	35	33	34
P.V.D.	20	-	19	15
S.A.	20	35	28	28
F.A.	25	30	21	24
	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 4.469$, $p > .05$

Table A:10. Fathers' Education by Subjective Definitions.

Subjective Definition	Fathers' Education: Nine Years or Less	10 or 11 Years	Completed High School	Some Post-Secondary	Sample Totals
	N= 29 %	N= 12 %	N= 23 %	N= 15 %	N= 79* %
C.U.	45	50	30	7	34
P.V.D.	7	17	17	27	15
S.A.	28	25	26	27	27
F.A.	21	8	26	40	24
	100	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 10.981$, $p > .05$

---

* One respondent declined to answer this question.

Table A:11. Mothers' Education by Subjective Definitions.

Subjective Definition	Mothers' Education: Nine Years or Less	10 or 11 Years	Completed High School	Some Post-Secondary	Sample Totals
	N= 16	N= 18	N= 29	N= 16	N= 79*
	%	%	%	%	%
C.U.	44	22	38	31	34
P.V.D.	13	17	10	25	15
S.A.	25	39	24	19	27
F.A.	19	22	28	25	24
	100	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 4.749$, $p > .05$

---

* One respondent declined to answer this question.

Table A:12. Mothers' Employment by Subjective Definitions.

Subjective Definition	Mothers' Employment: Presently Employed	Not Working	Sample Totals
	N= 45	N= 35	N= 80
	%	%	%
C.U.	42	23	34
P.V.D.	16	14	15
S.A.	27	29	28
F.A.	16	34	24
	100	100	100

$X^2 = 5.143$, $p > .05$

Table A:13. Ethnicity by Subjective Definitions.

Subjective Definition	Ethnicity			
	Parents Both Born in Canada	One Parent Only Born in Canada	Neither Parent Born in Canada	Sample Totals
	N= 52	N= 10	N= 15	N= 77*
	%	%	%	%
C.U.	37	40	27	35
P.V.D.	17	-	13	14
S.A.	23	30	40	27
F.A.	23	30	20	23
	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 3.691, p > .05$

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* Three respondents failed to answer this question.

Table A:14. Family Size by Subjective Definitions.

Subjective Definition	Number of Children*				
	One or Two	Three	Four	Five or More	Sample Totals
	N= 24	N= 13	N= 20	N= 23	N= 80
	%	%	%	%	%
C.U.	33	38	40	26	34
P.V.D.	13	15	25	9	15
S.A.	29	23	20	35	28
F.A.	25	23	15	30	24
	100	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 4.828, p > .05$

Table A:15. Birth Order by Subjective Definitions.

Subjective Definition	Respondent is: Eldest Child	Middle Child	Youngest Child	Sample Totals
	N= 23	N= 36	N= 21	N= 80
	%	%	%	%
C.U.	30	31	43	34
P.V.D.	17	14	14	15
S.A.	26	36	14	28
F.A.	26	19	29	24
	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 3.685,\ p > .05$

Table A:16. Mean Scores for Family Independence by Subjective Definitions and Parental Socio-Economic Status.

	Category of Subjective Definition: C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	Total
Mean Scores, "Family Independence:"					
Lower "Parental SES"*					
	$\bar{X}$=10.41 s=2.48 n=21	$\bar{X}$=12.60 s=1.95 n=4	$\bar{X}$=12.22 s=3.93 n=7	$\bar{X}$=10.09 s=1.87 n=10	$\bar{X}$=10.91 s=2.74 n=42**
		F= 2.02, p <.05			
Higher "Parental SES"*					
	$\bar{X}$=10.80 s=2.28 n=5	$\bar{X}$=11.50 s=4.28 n=6	$\bar{X}$=10.92 s=3.93 n=13	$\bar{X}$=11.38 s=2.50 n=8	$\bar{X}$=11.13 s=3.33 n=32***
		F= 0.07, p <.05			

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* These categories were created by stratification of the sample about the mean score for parental SES.

** Five respondents failed to answer one or more parental SES items.

*** One respondent failed to answer one family independence item.

Table A:17. Family Independence Item by Subjective Definitions and Parental Socio-Economic Status.

Subjective Definition	Respondent Could Lose Interest in Family		Sample Totals
	Impossible/ Unlikely	Some Probability Quite Possible	
	Lower "Parental SES"*		
	N= 27	N= 15	N= 42**
	%	%	%
C.U.	52	47	50
P.V.D.	4	20	10
S.A.	7	33	17
F.A.	37	-	24
	100	100	100
	$X^2 = 12.173$, $p < .05$		
	Higher "Parental SES"*		
	N= 25	N= 8	N= 33
	%	%	%
C.U.	20	-	15
P.V.D.	24	13	21
S.A.	32	63	39
F.A.	24	25	24
	100	100	100
	$X^2 = 3.412$, $p > .05$		

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* These categories were created by stratification of the sample about the mean score for parental SES.

** Five respondents failed to answer one or more parental SES items.

Table A:18. Formal Group Memberships by Subjective Definitions.

Subjective Definition	Formal Group Memberships: None	Formal Group Memberships: One Or More	Sample Totals
	N= 59	N= 21	N= 80
	%	%	%
C.U.	34	33	34
P.V.D.	17	10	15
S.A.	29	24	28
F.A.	20	33	24
	100	100	100

$X^2 = 1.813, p > .05$

Table A:19. Subjective Definitions by Frequency of Discussions with Friends About Ideas from Courses.

Frequency of Discussions	Subjective Definition: C.U.	Subjective Definition: P.V.D.	Subjective Definition: S.A.	Subjective Definition: F.A.	Sample Totals
	n=27	n=12	n=22	n=19	n=80
	%	%	%	%	%
Once a day or more:	41	33	59	47	46
Less:	59	67	41	53	54
	100	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 2.593, p > .05$

Table A:20. Subjective Definitions by the Extent Courses Inspire More Work than is Required

Frequency	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	Sample Totals
	Subjective Definition				
	n=26*	n=12	n=22	n=19	n=79*
	%	%	%	%	%
Sometimes/often:	62	58	55	58	58
Hardly ever/never:	39	42	46	42	42
	100	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 0.241, p > .05$

---

* One respondent failed to answer this question.

Table A:21. Subjective Definitions by Firmness of Career Plans.

Career Plans	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	Sample Totals
	Subjective Definition				
	n=26*	n=12	n=22	n=19	n=79*
	%	%	%	%	%
Definite plan:	31	50	32	42	37
General plans:	42	25	32	26	31
Vague plans/none:	27	25	36	32	30
	100	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 2.791, p > .05$

---

* One respondent failed to answer this question.

Table A:22. Subjective Definitions by Number of Hours Worked Per Week.

Hours Worked	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	Sample Totals
	n=18 %	n=8 %	n=14 %	n=16 %	n=56* %
Ten or less:	6	25	29	13	16
Eleven to twenty:	44	13	43	38	38
Twenty-one to thirty:	33	50	29	31	34
More than thirty:	17	13	--	19	13
	100	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 8.059$, $p > .05$

---

* 24 respondents reported no job.

Table A:23. Subjective Definitions by Employment Earnings Per Week.

	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	Sample Totals
	n=18 %	n=8 %	n=14 %	n=16 %	n=56* %
$50 or less:	33	38	50	31	38
$51 to 75:	33	25	36	19	29
$76 or more:	33	38	14	50	34
	100	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 4.644$, $p > .05$

---

* 24 respondents reported no job.

Table A:24. Subjective Definitions by General Satisfaction with Job.

Degree of Satisfaction	Subjective Definition				Sample Totals
	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	
	n=18	n=8	n=14	n=16	n=56*
	%	%	%	%	%
Very satisfied:	50	38	50	50	48
Somewhat satisfied/ dissatisfied:	50	63	50	50	52
	100	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 0.429$, $p > .05$

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* 24 respondents reported no job.

Table A:25. Mean Scores for Deviation from School Conduct Norms by Subjective Definition and Parental Socio-Economic Status.

	Category of Subjective Definition				
	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	Total
Higher Parental SES					
	$\bar{X}$=17.80 s=4.38 n=5	$\bar{X}$=19.43 s=3.05 n=7	$\bar{X}$=22.38 s=7.17 n=13	$\bar{X}$=20.13 s=3.48 n=8	$\bar{X}$=20.51 s=5.30 n=33
	F= 1.07, p >.05				
Lower Parental SES					
	$\bar{X}$=20.62 s=3.88 n=22	$\bar{X}$=21.60 s=4.34 n=5	$\bar{X}$=22.78* s=4.29 n=9	$\bar{X}$=19.25* s=3.76 n=11	$\bar{X}$=20.79 s=3.98 n=47
	F= 1.41, p >.05				

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* F(sa/fa)= 3.98, p <.05

Table A:26. Mean Scores for Peer Independence by Subjective Definitions and Parental Socio-Economic Status.

	Category of Subjective Definition				
	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	Total
Higher Parental SES					
	$\bar{X}$=17.60 s=1.14 n=5	$\bar{X}$=20.00* s=4.24 n=7	$\bar{X}$=17.69 s=1.97 n=13	$\bar{X}$=16.00* s=2.27 n=8	$\bar{X}$=17.76 s=2.61 n=33
		F= 2.96, p <.05			
Lower Parental SES					
	$\bar{X}$=16.67 s=1.91 n=22	$\bar{X}$=18.20 s=1.30 n=5	$\bar{X}$=16.56 s=2.83 n=9	$\bar{X}$=17.08 s=2.50 n=11	$\bar{X}$=16.92 s=2.22 n=47
		F= 0.75, p >.05			

* F(p.v.d./f.a.)= 8.84, p <.05

Table A:27. Subjective Definitions by Extracurricular Involvement Scale Items.

Item	Subjective Definition				Sample Totals
	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	
	n=25*	n=12	n=22	n=18*	n=77*
	%	%	%	%	%
Participation in intramural sports program.[a]					
No activities:	24	42	41	33	34
One or two activities:	28	17	27	22	25
Three or more:	48	42	32	45	42
	100	100	100	100	100
Participation in student government.[b]					
None:	92	83	86	78	86
Some:	8	17	14	22	14
	100	100	100	100	100
Participation in school's special interest organizations.[c]					
None:	92	67	82	67	79
Some participation:	8	33	18	33	21
	100	100	100	100	100
Hours given to extra-curricular activity per week.[d]					
None:	28	8	41	22	27
Some:	72	92	59	78	73
	100	100	100	100	100

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* Three respondents did not complete these items.

a. $X^2 = 2.577$, df=6, $p > .05$
b. $X^2 = 1.796$, df=3, $p > .05$
c. $X^2 = 5.443$, df=3, $p > .05$
d. $X^2 = 4.471$, df=3, $p > .05$

Table A:28. Subjective Definitions by Reported Participation in Leisure Activities (In addition to those indicated by Table 6:26.).

	Subjective Definition				
Activity	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	Sample Totals
	n=27	n=12	n=22	n=19	n=80
	%	%	%	%	%
Spectator at a live sporting event.[a]					
Rarely/never:	26	25	27	37	29
Occasionally:	37	50	32	16	33
Often/frequently:	37	25	41	47	39
	100	100	100	100	100
Attend/entertain at a small party.[b]					
Rarely/occasionally:	56	50	55	47	53
Often/frequently:	44	50	46	53	48
	100	100	100	100	100
Go shopping.[c]					
Rarely/never :	33	58	41	68	48
Occasionally/frequently:	67	42	59	32	53
	100	100	100	100	100
Read a magazine or newspaper.[d]					
Rarely/occasionally:	52	58	46	42	49
Often/frequently:	48	42	55	58	51
	100	100	100	100	100
Participate in individual sports.[e]					
Rarely/occasionally:	26	25	32	37	30
Often:	44	33	23	26	33
Frequently:	30	42	46	37	38
	100	100	100	100	100

....continued.

Table A:28. Subjective Definitions by Reported Participation in Leisure Activities (continued).

Activity	Subjective Definition				Sample Totals
	C.U.	P.V.D.	S.A.	F.A.	
	n=27	n=12	n=22	n=19	n=80
	%	%	%	%	%
Read a book.[f]					
Rarely/never:	33	50	46	42	41
Occasionally:	44	25	36	26	35
Often/frequently:	22	25	18	32	24
	100	100	100	100	100
Participate in team sports.[g]					
Rarely/never:	37	42	41	47	41
Occasionally/frequently:	63	58	59	53	59
	100	100	100	100	100

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a. X^2= 4.517, df=6, $p > .05$
b. X^2= 0.369, df=3, $p > .05$
c. X^2= 6.456, df=3, $p > .05$
d. X^2= 0.976, df=3, $p > .05$
e. X^2= 3.503, df=6, $p > .05$
f. X^2= 2.995, df=6, $p > .05$
g. X^2= 0.493, df=3, $p > .05$